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ABSTRACT

This report of the Leadership Training Institute (LTI) on Educational Administration consists of 5 papers assessing the problems facing educational leaders today. The papers, presented at a 1975 conference sponsored by the LTI to assess the federal contribution to administrator education, discussed the kinds of training and experience administrators need and what the federal government role should be in leadership preparation. No concensus was sought, but several themes emerged: (1) the nonpolitical, placid world of educational administration is now filled with turmoil and conflict; (2) the new activism by educational consumers suggests that educational leadership may be too narrowly defined; (3) traditional, university-based administration programs are out ot touch with the reality of public schools, especially urban schools, and do not fully and properly prepare educational leaders for the world in which they must operate; and (4) because of its investment in education, and because of current and future needs, the federal government does have a role in the preparation of educational leaders. Discussion centered on concerns that should be taken into account in refining the federal role. (MB)

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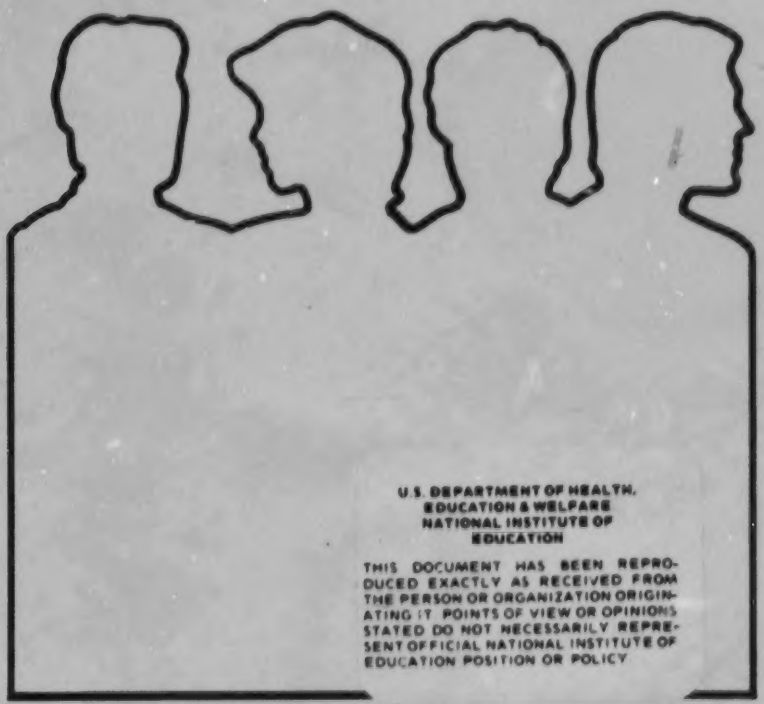
TRAINING EDUCATIONAL LEADERS

A Search for Alternatives



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The Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL) seeks to strengthen present and potential leadership in American education at the policy level of state and federal government. Established in 1971, IEL is a policy planning and coordinating agency for a number of related educational programs, including Education Policy Fellowship Program (EPFP), Educational Staff Seminar (ESS), The Associates Program (TAP), Postsecondary Education Convening Authority (PECA), a radio series over National Public Radio titled, "Options in Education", Career Education Policy Project (CEPP), Family Impact Seminar (FIS), Project on Compensatory Education (PCE).

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Telephone: 293-3166

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Established in 1969, ESS is funded by the Institute and by partial reimbursement from the government agencies served. In fiscal year 1975 ESS conducted 73 programs for over 2200 federal employees.

The Associates Program (TAP)
Telephone: 785-4991

The Associates Program (TAP) is an evolving IEL activity. Its emphasis up to now has been to provide seminars for legislators and other policymakers at state capitals. Begun in 1972 with three state educational seminars, TAP now sponsors 27 seminars, all directed by Associates who, on a part-time basis, arrange five to 10 programs annually.

TAP maintains a network of state-level "generalists" (Associates) whose ties to IEL in the nation's capital provide rare linkages among federal and state education policy-setters. TAP encourages similar linkages among agencies and coalitions seeking to improve processes in state-level decisionmaking. It also sponsors national and regional conferences dealing with state-level responsibilities in education.

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Telephone: 785-6462 or 833-9178

IEL and National Public Radio co-produce the "Options in Education" series, heard weekly over most of NPR's 490 member stations from coast to coast. Voice of America rebroadcasts the one-hour programs, and IEL makes cassettes and transcripts available at minimum cost. "Options" has received awards from the Education Writers Association (1974 and 1975) and from the Council for Advancement and Support of Education (1974). Funds for "Options in Education" are provided by IEL, National Institute of Education, Robert S. Clark Foundation, NPR, and other grantors. A list of NPR member stations and a catalog of available cassettes and transcripts are available from IEL.

Career Education Policy Project (CEPP)
Telephone: 833-9051

The Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) airs the issues of education, work and society for educational decisionmakers. Funded by the U.S. Office of Education, CEPP uses the resources of other IEL programs — ESS and TAP — to inform both policymakers and the public of the issues and the potential of the career education movement. It also sponsors Washington Policy Seminars for policy-level career educators.

The Project on Compensatory Education (PCE)
Telephone: 833-9178

The Project on Compensatory Education, responding to continuing state and federal emphasis on equal educational opportunity and the right of each child to an adequate education, is sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education. It will seek to identify the major public policy issues in the governance of compensatory education at the federal, state and local levels.

The project identifies strengths and weaknesses in current compensatory education governance policies, primarily by obtaining information from key policymakers, public officials, educators, as well as parents and others involved in compensatory education in the nation.

Family Impact Seminar (FIS)
Telephone: 296-5330

The Family Impact Seminar seeks to identify and assess the effect on families and children of a variety of public policies. The Seminar and its several task forces are composed of scholars and policymakers. Together, they examine and test the feasibility of developing "family impact statements" on selected government policies and programs. The specific issues to be examined are selected from a broad range of existing or proposed public policies. The policies may include some in such areas as education, health or welfare, which are specifically designed to help families and children. Other areas such as taxation, which are focused primarily on other objectives, but nevertheless affect families and children, also are examined.

TRAINING EDUCATIONAL LEADERS
A Search for Alternatives

Report of the Leadership Training Institute on Educational Leadership 1969-1975

Norman Drachler, Director
George R. Kaplan, Associate Director

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

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Washington, D.C. 1976

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September 17-19, 1975

INTRODUCTION: NEW CHALLENGES FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Norman Drachler

Norman Drachler, Visiting Professor at the School of Education at Stanford University, has been Superintendent of Schools in Detroit, Michigan, Director of the Institute for Educational Leadership, and Director of the Leadership Training Institute in Educational Leadership.

This report represents the culmination of the six-year history of the Leadership Training Institute (LTI) on Educational Administration. It is based in part on a conference sponsored by the LTI in September 1975 to assess the federal contribution to the training of educational leaders and to explore a possible federal role in future training efforts. The report deals with two aspects. First, it is an account of the Educational Leadership Program (ELP) of the former Bureau of Educational Personnel Development (BEPD), U.S. Office of Education (USOE). Second, the report includes some recent assessments of educational leadership in light of current trends.

The ESP was designed to support projects which would increase the competence of public school administrators at the local and state levels. Its specific objectives were to improve the recruitment and training of new talent for administration and to improve the administrator preparation programs of higher education institutions.

The LTI on Educational Administration was one of several LTIs established by USOE to provide expert outside advice on BEPD programs. The membership of the LTI on Educational Administration was named in 1969, and its recommendations helped shape the U.S. Government's view and role on preparing leaders. The recommendations included an emphasis on training leadership for urban schools and the recruitment of minority group members.

The materials presented in this report come from the LTI's final conference, September 17-19, 1975, and from reports on the ELP's programs. The materials attempt to show how and to what degree the objectives of the EPDA were implemented, where the effort fell short, and what remains to be done. Although there were successes and the beginnings of change in the way educational leaders are trained, there remains an air of pessimism and frustration about the performance of educational leadership. Educational administrators represent one of the targets for society's tension and anxiety.

In 1972, Roald F. Campbell, after reviewing the past 25 years of educational administration concluded, "We have moved from a setting of social stability to one of social turmoil, from a public school monopoly to a search for alternatives...Perhaps never since the Civil War have we been so unsure of ourselves, our institutions, and our direction." Campbell and other experts express deep concern about the quality of recruitment and training provided to enable educational administrators to meet the challenges that confront them.

These problems demonstrate the wisdom of the federal government's decision in the late 1960's to focus attention on the training of administrators. Through a variety of approaches, and with the counsel of the LTI, the ELP provided diverse clinical experiences which

strengthened the training of hundreds of administrators who are now on the firing line in the schools. In addition, the ELP opened the administrative door to minority members, fostered cooperation between the universities and the city schools, and provided a record from which to launch future planning efforts.

In addition to providing advice to USOE, the LTI in 1973-74 sponsored four seminars on minority participation in educational administration. Minority members are being recruited for leadership in the schools of large cities that have become predominantly black and brown--and which, in a period of financial stringency, are approaching bankruptcy. The challenge of education in these cities calls for extraordinary talent if administrators are to survive and lead. Urban school problems validate the LTI's recommendation that federal leadership preparation programs focus on city schools. The cities have become the vortex of the educational, social, and economic inequities that have afflicted our nation from its beginnings. The victims of these historic injustices--the poor, the black, the brown, and others--regard the schools as the crucial institution for improving their opportunities in life. Within the urban school, historic and current grievances have become fused. Answering these grievances will tax the skill of educational leaders in the coming years. Urban educational administrators are being asked to make up both for the shortcomings of the schools and for those of society as well.

Compounding these problems is a host of other emerging issues that call for impressive leadership qualities. They include:

Citizen Participation in Decisionmaking: The growing distrust of the public for its social and political institutions requires a new breed of leaders. Principals and superintendents must develop new antennae to sense the educational/political climate that is brewing in all school districts. Outside experts are losing influence as more and more problems require resolution at the local school level. In this context, creative leadership by principals has become an urgent priority.

Collective Bargaining: The spread of collective bargaining adds a new dimension to educational leadership. Teachers are demanding a greater role in areas that were formerly regarded as the domain of administrators. Teachers are sharing power both at the central office and in local school buildings. The task of preparing principals and central staff members for this new reality looms on the horizon.

New Roles for Boards of Education: Administrators generally lack expertise in such new social/educational issues as collective bargaining, decentralization, desegregation, and affirmative action. Board members will assert themselves more strongly on these issues, which will greatly affect the daily operation of the schools. To continue to function as educational leaders, administrators will require sophistication in related disciplines such as law, finance, conflict resolution, and utilization of technology.

The Financial Crisis: Increasingly, education has to compete for scarce tax dollars with new social services, environmental protection programs, and expanded health care services funded by government. As funds become scarce, efficient management becomes essential. Educators will have to be more convincing in defense of their budgets as citizens question expenditures more aggressively.

The Gap Between Research and Practice: Educational researchers and practitioners have different priorities, according to studies by the University Council for Educational Administration and others. Lawrence Iannacone, commenting on this gap, expresses concern about those outsiders who are "...in but not of education, safely based outside the public schools and without the responsibility for action." On the other hand, school administrators who claim that scholars do not comprehend the complexities of school governance have contributed little to the literature of educational leadership. If the practitioners have a theoretical basis for their leadership role, they have not revealed it. Closer ties and working relationships between the universities and the schools are essential to improve both theory and practice.

Basics or Reform: Many educators are concerned that a renewed emphasis on educational fundamentals may impede worthwhile reforms. Educational leaders will need both educational and political skills to sift worthy reforms from the many panaceas that are offered. The risk will be great, and both knowledge and boldness will be essential to prevent stagnation in American education.

These are some of the concerns and problems of educational leadership that were aired at the LTI's final conference. They are both the result and the cause of the growing credibility gap in education. This gap, the financial crisis, and the adversary nature of our society demand that educational leadership assert its own voice more effectively. Education, as well as other institutions, is being challenged by formerly voiceless groups who now insist upon a more active role in the nation's important institutions. This trend is partly due to the failure of educational and other leadership to act effectively in an age of crisis. It means that policies and practices will be scrutinized more than ever before and leaders will be held answerable for decisions that were made under difficult conditions.

The last quarter of the 20th century promises to be stormy. Our society is confronted with local, national, and global problems. Unfortunately, as society changes, we are not necessarily provided automatically with the new skills needed to cope with new demands. Old beliefs and methods need to be discarded and new approaches learned and acquired. Educational leadership has always been needed--but never as critically and as urgently as today and in the coming decades.

Norman Drachler
Stanford, California
September 1976

A SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES:

CHOICES FOR A NATIONAL POLICY

Ian McNett

Ian McNett, a free-lance educational writer, has been Washington correspondent for CHANGE and has covered national educational issues for the Chronicle of Higher Education and Congressional Quarterely.

In an effort to assess the federal contribution to the preparation of educational leaders and to identify its possible future roles, the six-year-old Leadership Training Institute (LTI) on Educational Leadership held a final conference at the Institute of Educational Leadership of the George Washington University on September 17-19, 1975. Participants included school superintendents, deans and professors from schools of education, school board members, and representatives of state and federal education agencies. Some participants had experiences in more than one area, the public schools, the universities, and the education agencies. In five commissioned papers and twelve hours of discussion, they wrestled with the problems facing educational leaders, the kinds of training and educational experiences they needed, and what the Federal government should do to support improved preparation programs.

While no consensus was sought concerning an appropriate federal role, several broad themes emerged as areas of agreement. First, it was unanimously agreed that the educational leader's world has changed vastly over the past two decades. The placid, essentially non-political climate that existed prior to the 1950s has been replaced by tumult, turmoil, conflict, and combativeness. Second, many educational publics are clamoring for a piece of the action, which suggests that educational leadership may be too narrowly defined. Everyone is more active and more demanding of the public schools--teachers with their unions, parents with their demands for community control, students with their assertion of rights, and the state and federal governments with their changing and sometimes conflicting priorities and their increasing demands for accountability. That traditional, university-based educational administration programs do not fully and properly prepare educational leaders for the world in which they must operate was another theme. The conference reached some agreement on the kinds of preparation educational leaders need for the by now not so new climate. And, finally, the conferees agreed that in light of the federal government's investment in education and in view of the needs ahead, it did have a role in the preparation of educational leaders. The discussion surfaced a body of concerns that should be taken into account in refining what the federal role should be.

The five commissioned papers, as well as one by the federal official most responsible for the ELP, are included in the text of this report. What follows is a summary of some of the main points of those papers and the discussions which they stimulated.

Schools: The Eye of the Storm

The current educational climate was graphically illustrated at the conference by the number of speakers who stressed the need for optimism after listing factors which generated pessimism. "Whether the administrator can function as an educational leader at all in the modern social milieu is problematic, particularly in the urban setting, given the increased participation of formally organized publics in the decisionmaking process, the advocacy stance of many school boards, and the bleak economic picture," declared Richard P. Gousha, Dean of the School of Education at Indiana University. However, he hastened to emphasize the need for optimism. People in leadership positions "simply cannot allow pessimism to take over," said Gousha, a former big city superintendent (Milwaukee) and chief state school officer (Delaware).

Gousha's pessimistic assessment of the factors which inhibit educational leadership was shared by others. "I have become more convinced than ever that educational leadership is dependent upon the transcendent socio-political events of the larger world in which it exists," declared Michael D. Usdan, president of the Merrill-Palmer Institute of Detroit, Michigan, and a former professor of educational administration. "In other words, educational leadership is dependent upon factors and forces over which it has no control."

These were the factors and forces that cascaded into the educational world starting with the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation decision of 1954, Brown vs. Topeka. The Brown decision was one of three watershed events which thrust education into the political limelight and shook the faith of the American people in the educational system, argued Lawrence Iannaccone, Professor of Educational Administration at the University of California at Santa Barbara. The other two were the Soviet launching of the Sputnik space satellite in 1957 and the collective bargaining breakthrough of the American Federation of Teachers in New York City in 1960. Americans expect their schools to deal with problems that have larger social causes, and become cynical and discontented when the schools fail at what may be impossible tasks. Norman Drachler, Director of the LTI and ex-Superintendent in Detroit, noted that education was being asked to compensate not merely for its own shortcomings, but for those of society as well. "The public expects the schools to have the answers," Drachler declared.

Usdan said educational leaders are expected to deal with societal forces of race, dwindling resources, the quest of teachers and citizens for greater power, and shifting power alignments. These forces exist independently of the schools, but also deeply affect the schools, which are then expected to provide solutions to the problems. Usdan asserted that the schools have become the people's city hall. Many people are frustrated with their jobs, their government, the overall economic picture, and the general problem of future shock in a changing world, he commented. The schools are the most accessible and vulnerable institutions in society. People can make themselves heard

at the local school level in a way that is impossible with state and federal governments, the international arena, and the places where economic policy is made, Usdan stated.

The many voices which speak for education today do so during an era of declining resources and increasing costs. When the educational system was rapidly expanding in the 1950s and 1960s, "efforts to integrate the schools, to meet the challenges of foreign superiority in space or to conquer the problems of inner cities, seemed surmountable," said Martin Burlingame, Professor of Education at the University of Illinois. However, he continued, "At a time when the expansionist mode accentuated diversity of goals, the motor of change--increased school enrollments--ceased to function." So the schools today are faced with increasing and divergent demands, increasing costs, and a dwindling financial base and clientele.

Who Leads in Education?

"The superintendent is not really the chief executive any more," Gousha declared. In the daily operation of the schools, "and especially in policy and administrative decisions that branch out to affect a diverse spectrum of publics, his voice is but one of many that speak of leadership and direction in the educational sector. The result is usually a cacophony of sound in which it is difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff," Gousha continued. In response to his own rhetorical question, if the superintendent does not lead, then who does? Goush said: "everybody and nobody."

"Today," he asserted, "what was once a placid environment has become a turbulent one. People are formally organized into organizations that branch out horizontally as well as vertically, and they impinge on each other in a web of relationships that is extremely difficult to unravel." Board members and superintendents at the meeting noted that teachers through their unions increasingly are asserting educational leadership at the local and state level. Teachers, one participant said, are successfully lobbying legislatures to write work rules (student-teacher ratios, for example) into legislation. Parents are demanding control over school decisions that are reflected in the move toward decentralization, which counters a "reform" trend that started in the early 1960s with centralization of power and professionalization of school boards. Students demand their rights. The courts, the state legislatures, and the federal government all have exerted educational leadership functions. Indeed, argued William Grant, education writer for the Detroit Free Press, most of the changes in education in the past 15 years were forced on reluctant schools by the courts (desegregation and equalization of finance) or the state and national legislatures.

In this increasingly vocal and political climate, the traditional leaders, the superintendents and principals, find themselves without a power base. In some school systems, only the top staff is unorganized. One participant wistfully noted that even secretaries do not want to make coffee anymore.

Increasingly, administrators have to call on outside experts to exert leadership functions. A notable example of this trend said Drachler, is the use of attorneys to negotiate collective bargaining contracts. He said that in one collective bargaining situation, the negotiator seemed the chief executive of the school system. The negotiator was the one who appeared on television and who was quoted in the newspapers, and on educational policies that were not connected with the contract negotiations, Drachler asserted.

A consensus formed in the conference that the concept of educational leadership must be broadened to include those who are now exerting a leadership role, even though they may lack a formal slot in the organization charts of the school system. Particularly mentioned were officers of the teachers unions, leaders of parents groups, and education aides to governors in the various states.

Inadequacy of Current Preparation Programs

Educational administrators are ill prepared for the reality they face when they try to lead. Most of them come from the teaching ranks, where they have spent years dealing with children rather than adults, Drachler said. And Usdan declared that administrators' formal academic preparation is carried out through course work at a university which does not give them first-hand experience in dealing with the political, social, and economic forces they will face as superintendents or principals. Drachler, who has served as a classroom teacher and professor of education as well as superintendent, said the administrator of the late nineteenth century would have felt at home if he had returned to the schools in the 1930s. However, the superintendent of 1930 would be baffled by many words, phrases, and concepts which are reality for the superintendent today, Drachler said.

He quoted an alphabet soup of concerns of the modern superintendent, which would be utterly unfamiliar to the superintendent of 30 years ago. The concerns which Drachler listed ranged from A for accountability through Z for the zippers that kindergarten teachers have to contend with. In between were such concepts as B for bussing, C for community control, Coleman, and change; I for integration; J for Jensen and Jencks; S for sex education, and so on through the alphabet. Drachler's half facetious, half serious tour of the alphabet underscored a point made by Gousha. He said his academic training had not prepared him for the necessity of a police escort when he was superintendent at Milwaukee or for the "parade of organizations that filed through my office" when he was state superintendent in Delaware.

Participants asserted that the norms of the university were out of touch with the reality of the public schools, especially large cities. The reward structure of the universities was based on publishing and research rather than practice in the schools. This structure serves the needs of the university professariat, but does not help the beleaguered administrator who must face a militant union or a group of angry parents. Burlingame argued that the reality of the numerous groups with their differing goals and priorities conflicted fundamentally with the administrative model used as the basis for teaching and

research in educational administration. This "rational-industrial" model, he asserted, assumed that there were clearly defined goals which were reached by rational analysis.

"The rational-industrial model is a poor analog for schools," Burlingame contended. "It ignores the equivocality of educational goals, denigrates important discussions over means, ignores the professional intent of teachers, and overlooks the rapidly changing characteristics of school populations...Its greatest danger is that it leads to the development of research traditions and findings which overlook the real world of the school for variables and concepts drawn indiscriminately from industrial studies....In contrast to industrial models, efficiency in education may involve alternative means or effectiveness may mean multiple and diverse outcomes."

Richard Snyder, Director of the Mershon Center of The Ohio State University, and Cousha also contended that educational administration preparation programs were based on the wrong kind of models. Snyder said the hierarchical model of educational organization was inappropriate when there were many diverse voices speaking for education. Cousha asserted that the clinical approach of the law schools or business schools was more appropriate for preparing educational leaders than the predominant liberal arts model that emphasized research and scholarship. Burlingame said a more appropriate model than the rational-industrial one was the public service model which "stresses conflict and ambiguity over goals, differing and equivocal technologies and highly variable participation."

What Kind of Leadership Preparation?

Although there was general agreement about the ills that make effective educational leadership difficult to exercise, there was less agreement on the prescription for curing those ills. The discussions focused primarily on exposing educational leaders to the realities of educational leadership before they were placed in leadership positions. This meant more emphasis on clinical experience in the field and a broader liberal education background.

Cousha argued for a broad liberal education that emphasized educational knowledge, economics and law, history, and organizational management, and long-range planning combined with field study throughout the preparation program. He declared that schools of education should support a "penetrating and comprehensive reform" of liberal education. If the liberal arts schools were unwilling to reform, he said, the schools of education should do the job of liberal education themselves.

James R. Tanner, Assistant Superintendent, Cleveland, Ohio, Public schools argued that leadership training efforts should focus on the principal who is the key to school improvement. Training should emphasize cognitive learning rather than the development of mechanical skills, he said. "The training of the principal should be competency related, with the needed competency goals specified in considerable detail," Tanner contended. These competencies would include human relations and communications, the ability to encourage self-improvement

among other staff members, and the ability or willingness to delegate tasks, Tanner said. He said principals should give up their favorite role of instructional leaders and curriculum developers.

Conferees agreed generally that leadership preparation should focus on the skills and concepts that leaders need in dealing with the day-to-day problems of running the schools. However, these skills were not defined narrowly as those needed to keep busses running on schedule, assigning children to classrooms, or making sure that every high school student had a locker. Administrators need some expertise in law, since the courts play an increasing role in determining educational policy, from the racial balance of the schools to the requirement that students be given due process in disciplinary actions. Burlingame argues that educators need to be able to relate what is happening in the schools to the forces operating in society at large.

Gousha said administrators and educational leaders generally should be encouraged and taught to think deeply about the issues that affect the schools. Leaders need to develop the capacity to communicate, which Gausha called rhetoric. A number of participants argued that preparation programs should stress the need to encourage diversity in the public schools. Burlingame argued that too high a premium was placed on being right. Leaders need the courage and leeway to be creatively wrong, he said.

Burlingame said training institutions need "to reduce the number of students being credentialed and to increase their skills." He said state legislatures would aid in the reduction in students by "exposing and then pruning administrative 'fat'--the tendency to build a large administrative cadre in lean times to aid in adjustment to expected better times--and by breaking the linkage between credits earned and salary received."

And there also was agreement with Burlingame's contention that leadership preparation should be much more rigorous than it has been. The financial retrenchment and reduction in enrollments over the next few years will demand a different order of leadership than was required in the boom period that began winding down in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Schools may be required to seek new roles in continuing education for adults and in dealing with the problems of the aged.

Implications for Federal Policy

There were two areas of strong agreement concerning the Federal role in the preparation of educational leaders: First, the federal government should stimulate or prod universities and school systems into improving leadership training programs. Second, leadership preparation in the next several years should stress the retraining of current leaders. Beyond these two areas, the discussion focused on areas of concern which should guide the formulation of Federal policy. Each point drew support from more than one participant, but nothing emerged that was as strong as a recommendation for specific action.

Usdan said he was not optimistic that needed reforms in educational leadership training programs would be made without "the prod and stimulus of Federal or foundation grants." Forbes Bottomley, Professor of Education at Georgia State University, and formerly superintendent in Seattle, said the appropriate federal role in educational leadership training was the provision of "incentives" to create new and better programs. Most participants, though, were not prepared to say what form those incentives would take. Tanner of Cleveland was prepared to offer a specific role for the U.S. Office of Education. He argued that the authority already existed to initiate federally supported training programs for principals.

"Immediate action is possible and is recommended," Tanner asserted. "Looking at the long-term, the federal education agencies, the U.S. Office of Education, and the National Institute of Education, should undertake immediately an analysis in depth of the need and potential for the remainder of this century. The analysis should be followed by encouragement to educational institutions at all levels to develop and carry out collaborative management development projects varying in participant coverage from single kinds of administrators to teams." He urged the U.S. Office of Education to set aside a percentage of federal education funds for management development projects "for upgrading the skills of present school administrators, as well as for developing managerial competencies among other school personnel identified as good candidates for administrative posts."

Wilmer S. Cody, Birmingham, Alabama, school superintendent, asserted that most leadership preparation should be in the area of retraining. He argued strongly that such retraining was essential to help educational leaders deal with the problems of declining enrollments, shrinking budgets, and escalating costs--in short, with the problems of retrenchment after an era of expansion. Cody predicted that much of the retraining would be contracted, directed, and specified by boards of education. The universities were the logical first place for the boards to look for leadership training capabilities, Cody said. If the universities could not deliver the kind of training the boards wanted, he declared, they would look elsewhere.

Many local boards and state departments of education already conduct their own training programs because they are dissatisfied with university programs, asserted Harriet Bernstein, vice president of the Montgomery County (Maryland) Board of Education. She said an appropriate and needed federal role was the study of these state and local efforts, the validation of successful efforts, and dissemination of information about successful efforts throughout the country. The Office of Education and the National Institute of Education should perform these functions, Bernstein said.

Participants also discussed the possible need for a "third party" to offer leadership training. This third party would have some independence from both the universities and the public school systems. The universities and the schools have their own agendas and priorities which can get in the way of designing effective leadership training programs for the new age administrators who face a range of problems

undreamed of by their predecessors. Tanner said third parties, if they were created, should be "wholly-owned subsidiaries" of the schools and universities. Unless they were, Tanner argues, the third parties would develop their own agendas which might conflict with the needs of schools and the universities.

Byron Hansford, Executive Secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, said the state departments of education already had their own training programs--"trying to pull ourselves up by our own bootstraps." He recommended that state superintendents and departments should be included in any consideration of the third party idea.

Gousha argued for recognition of the many voices clamoring for a leadership role in education. He said that the concept of "shared power" should be considered in developing new leadership training programs." This would recognize specifically in practice what was already fact--that school boards, superintendents, teachers, parents, the schools of education, and politicians are exerting and will continue to exert educational leadership. Each group would be required to establish its own set of priorities in order to communicate with all the other groups, Gousha contended. He said the Office of Education's "Project Open," an information network, could serve as a model for this power-sharing arrangement. The concept of shared power contains the idea that everyone would have a stake and a voice in the design of educational leadership training programs.

Snyder, who was co-director of the National Program for Educational Leadership, asserted that a national strategy was needed that accounted for all of the factors impinging on educational leadership today. Snyder said education lacked anything comparable to the teaching hospitals in medicine. He suggested a national network of leadership training centers, comparable to the teacher training centers that are springing up around the country. These centers could be established wherever there were problems to be solved, he said.

If educators took a broader look at leadership training than is their habit, Snyder said, they would be forced to deal with the relationship between education and the total societal and cultural context in which it exists. In this context, he argued, there would be a need to stress leadership, not just management. "There has to be some way, given the complexities of the issue and the broad range of actors, for rethinking or additional thinking about leadership so we have something other than the hierarchical model," Snyder declared. Abandonment of the hierarchical model of organization would force a realistic appraisal of public policy and the policy formulation process as it actually exists in the educational arena.

Out of this analysis of the educational leadership situation, two approaches could be developed, Snyder said. One would be to provide training for the specialized sector, the principals. The second would aim at an integrative and collaborative approach to orchestrate and integrate all of the forces and factions which are seeking a leadership role in education.

Throughout the conference, Drachler stressed the need to keep the ends of education in mind in designing leadership preparation programs. He spoke for many participants when he observed that the purpose of education might be to prepare children to cope with an unkown future. A similar purpose could serve as the basis for educational leadership training, he said. Referring to the increased participation in educational policy by teachers, parents, and citizens, Drachler stated that the "policy level needs to take place at every level," not just at the level of the board chambers, the superintendency, or the principal's office.

THE TRAINING TASK:
BROADENING THE BASE

Michael D. Usdan

Michael Usdan, President of the Merrill-Palmer Institute in Detroit, Michigan, has written extensively on educational leadership and administration.

"Recently, there has been much attention focused upon the quality of educational leadership in the United States. Criticisms frequently have been articulated that a disproportionate number of practicing educational leaders have been inadequately prepared to cope with the multi-faceted social, economic, and political problems confronting them. School administrators, it is alleged, have been narrowly trained in the managerial facets of their jobs and thus have been ill-equipped to cope with some of the newer dimensions of their responsibilities. Superintendents of schools, many observers of the contemporary American educational scene contend, can no longer expect to succeed if they are expert only in the managerial or technical aspects of their increasingly demanding positions. The Superintendent in a growing number of communities not only must have a modicum of technical proficiency but, even more importantly, must manifest the ability to handle dynamic and often controversial social, economic, and political issues. The contention will be explicated in this paper that the contemporary educational leader must manifest a cluster of somewhat different abilities. He must be skilled as a technician operating school systems that continue to burgeon in size and managerial complexity. He must also exercise leadership as a community stateman on the many pressing social problems which impinge upon the educational process."

I wrote these words seven years ago in an article entitled "The School Administrator: Modern Renaissance Man" which appeared in the April, 1968 issue of the Teachers College Record (Vol. 69, No. 7). When preparing this paper to address issues pertaining to the preparation of educational leaders, I reread this article wondering whether the views of a somewhat callow professor had been altered in seven years by sobering experience as a small city school board member for five years and more recently as the president of a small private institution of higher education.

I found that my earlier views had not changed but, indeed, had become more intense when leavened with front-line experience. I have become more convinced than ever that educational leadership increasingly is dependent upon the transcendent socio-political events of the larger world in which it exists. In other words, educational leadership increasingly is dependent upon factors or forces over which it has little direct control.

Thus, I come to this assignment with mixed perspectives and wearing several hats. As a university-based analyst of educational policymaking I have long been interested in leadership issues. My academic interests as a one-time professor of educational administration have now been tested in the cauldron of practical experience. I will direct my remarks to a general analysis of what I see as the reasons underlying the decreasing influence of educational leaders in an ever-changing society.

I will conclude with some unpopular comments about the anachronistic and inappropriate ways in which contemporary educational leaders are being prepared to meet their complex responsibilities. In these final comments I will have the temerity to suggest some ways in which the federal government might help to generate a badly needed and long overdue revolution in training procedures.

Why, then, do I and many others feel so passionately that existing preparation programs commonly are too narrowly gauged to meet both the pre- and in-service needs of educational leaders? Responses to this basic question are complex and are predicated upon political, social, and economic changes in the society at large as well as upon developments which have impinged so dramatically in recent years upon the schools. Local educational decisionmaking until recently was made through somewhat stable processes and occured in a relatively closed political environment that was dominated by a small group of influential administrators, particularly the superintendent, and board members. The consensual and somewhat closed style of educational politics, with professional educators playing major roles, has undergone dramatic transformation. Within a brief period of time, actually a decade or so commencing in the early 1960's, major issues such as race, teacher militancy, community control, student activism, inflation and concomitant concerns about escalating school costs, and demands for accountability have cascaded upon educational leaders. The recent confluence of education and such volatile issues has politicized education in unprecedented ways and irrevocably pulled it deeper into the mainstream of the body politic.

These developments have placed great stress upon educational leaders who no longer are as insulated and isolated from the political process as they once were. The unique separation of school government from general government has been eroded as educational decisionmaking has been sucked into the vortex of larger societal issues such as race, finance, poverty, and public employee collective negotiations.

The role and influence of educational leaders has also shifted because of growing skepticism about the public schools, particularly in the nation's large cities. By the late 1960's the general public had become more skeptical as education, despite the thrusts of the Great Society, did not succeed dramatically in mitigating poverty and other deeply embedded social problems. There was growing apprehension expressed about public education's role and effectiveness, and these doubts without question eroded confidence and faith in the country's educational leadership.

Overblown rhetoric and expectations that somehow education would be a panacea for all of society's ills created a backlash, and the conflict which swirled around school administrators and school boards on issues such as race, teacher militancy, and finance further undermined public confidence. Traditional, cherished notions about education were questioned as more citizens noted the key distinction to be made between education and formal schooling. The dimensions of education were recast into broader terms as the alternative school movement and other developments symbolized a growing perspective that schools constituted just one component of the educational process.

The schools could no longer monopolize the educational process in a society where there would be more leisure time and the need for life-long learning in an ever-changing technological economy. Many viewed the school as becoming increasingly obsolete as television and other information sources complemented, if not replaced in large measure, both the family and educational institutions as transmitters of culture. Nationwide studies of education such as the Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee (chaired by James C. Coleman), which called for different modes of education that would permit youth to become adults in all ways not just intellectual ones as students, argued that the transition from youth to adulthood was too long and that young people needed to assume responsibility earlier and not be exclusively relegated to a student's role.[1] The National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, another prestigious group which was established by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, also recommended alternative routes to high school completion and for the elimination of the insulation of young people from the world of work and adults.[2]

Thus, basic questions were being articulated about the one-time somewhat sacrosanct fundamental structure and modus operandi of public schools. This questioning no doubt undercut to a considerable extent both the credibility and influence of educational leaders who were increasingly powerless to handle complex issues which were beyond their resources to cope with.

In the past educational leaders generally could concern themselves with issues that impinged rather directly upon the public schools themselves. These problems, difficult as some of them might have been, were more immediately within the ken of school officials. School boards and administrators, in other words, who managed with a modicum of success the four "B's," namely, bonds, budgets, buses, and buildings often could survive and even flourish noncontroversially in positions of educational leadership.

Times have changed, however, and a new welter of problems confront public education. These problems, as discussed earlier, encompass the society at large and have more intensively sucked the public schools into the controversial vortex of American politics at every governmental level. Stephen K. Bailey of the American Council on Education has relettered in a useful way the aforementioned four "B's." Bailey clusters contemporary educational issues around:

> "four R's": race, resources, relationships and rule, or if some people prefer the letter "C": color, coffers, coordination, and control, or even "P": prejudice, pocketbooks, partnerships, and power."[3]

Bailey's four "R's" provide very useful handles to present some specific illustrations of the difficult and controversial issues that have so recently beleaguered educational leaders. These issues have generated serious reservations about the viability of existing educational institutions because of the limited capacity of school leaders to cope adequately with them.

The saliency of the first "R," "race," as an issue which permeates the body politic is apparent. The nation's seemingly intractable racial travails have been focused largely upon the schools. Educational officials at the local, state, and federal levels have been wrestling with this most difficult and volatile of all domestic issues. Since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the national government has been involved deeply in educational issues pertaining to race. Officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have been embroiled in persistent conflict with local school districts over efforts to desegregate their students and staffs. Hundreds of school districts whether de jure segregated in the South or de facto segregated in the North have been under governmental pressure to eliminate racial apartheid. Local school districts, of course, have been profoundly influenced by judicial decisions over which they have little or no control as they wrestle with the volatile, community-dividing desegregation issues.

Within the past decade or so throughout the land, local educational officials have been involved in this controversial issue; an issue with ramifications that obviously have extended far beyond the traditional purview of local school systems. More than any other problem, the issue of race has politicized education and broken down the traditional separation of school officials from the mainstream of general government at all levels. Even the most parochial and apolitical educational leaders have come to recognize that the schools unilaterally cannot resolve America's deeply embedded problem of racial separation. Many students of urban problems, for example, believe that racial integration can best be achieved through cooperative multi-agency approaches to the inter-related problems of education, housing, and jobs. Such approaches are predicated upon the assumption that the schools must work much more closely with other agencies within the mainstream of the body politic at all governmental levels.

The second of Bailey's four "R's," "resources," likewise is pulling educators into the general political arena. The politics of school finance is the major issue in scores of states and local communities as educational officials strive to survive within an archaic financial structure. The local poverty tax, it is now widely acknowledged, can no longer continue to bear the primary burden for supporting elementary and secondary schools. As the costs of supporting education continue to soar because of factors like inflation, demands for higher quality schools, and escalating teacher salaries, the need to broaden the base of fiscal support for education becomes more acute. In other words, the public schools must acquire greater access to revenues produced by sales, income, and corporate taxation.

If local property taxation, in more bucolic times a relatively accurate barometer of wealth, can no longer be the bellwether for financing education, other sources of revenue must be found. Only the state and federal governments have access to the broadly based taxes that will be adequate to fund education in the decades ahead.

These fiscal realities have further dramatized the weaknesses of local educational officials with their limited access to tax resources. Increasingly they will be dependent upon other levels of government and the courts for financial assistance. Much of the mythology pertaining to local control of education is shattered because of this fiscal dependence and the fact that mandated costs constitute by far the greatest proportion of the school budget, leaving to the discretion of educational leaders only an infinitesimal percentage of the resources to be allocated.

The third "R" cited by Bailey, "relationships," also is accelerating the politicalization of education. Despite continued widespread beliefs in shibboleths pertaining to local autonomy in education, school districts, as mentioned earlier, are less and less isolated and insulated from a growing number of federal, state, local, and private partners in the educational enterprise. Local school districts are no longer relatively independent islands in establishing educational policy. The base of educational decisionmaking has expanded tremendously in recent years, and school officials have been compelled either to solidify or to create de novo a wide range of broadened relationships.

Recently enacted federal programs have generated, for example, new dimensions of communication and coordination between local school officials and educators working in state and federal agencies.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, in particular, has, contrary to some popular assumptions, markedly strengthened the role and influence of state education departments. Much of the recent strengthening of state educational agencies is attributable to responsibilities imposed upon them by federal legislation enacted within the past few years. This federal legislation, as well as the growing need for additional state aid has compelled many school districts which once ignored understaffed and ineffectual state agencies to turn to the latter for approval of proposals and for assistance in meeting their burgeoning problems.

In addition to the aforementioned necessity for more vertical coordination with state and federal agencies, local school districts have been forced in recent years to expand contacts horizontally. A variety of new programs require district officials to consult with representatives of local groups and communities on a whole range of programs that formerly were decided unilaterally by educators. Title I of ESEA, for example, mandated that public school officials consult with local community action agencies in the development of programs for the disadvantaged. Tutoring, preschool, and vocational training programs, traditionally administered by professional educators, have been operated by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), funded agencies or private corporations.

Other examples can be cited of groups impinging into areas that once were the professional educator's almost exclusive domain. Various titles of ESEA, for example, encouraged school systems to cultivate relationships with nonpublic schools, universities, libraries, museums, and a wide range of social, cultural, and educational institutions.

The paramount result of this broadened participation in public education is that the schools are no longer the closed systems they once were. This expanded involvement means that the schools are now infinitely more vulnerable to community pressures and are less able to stand effectively behind the legend of separation of politics and education.

Last but certainly not least in the Bailey four "R's" is "rule." What is changing in education's authority structure that apparently is making conflict endemic to so many school systems? Why are school board members and administrators in hundreds of communities increasingly in constant strife? What has recently happened to have so many basic questions raised about the leadership and basic structure of an educational system that had operated relatively harmoniously until recent years?

As has already been indicated, new and diverse forces are now involved in influencing educational policy. Many outside groups composed of non-professional educators are now seeking and obtaining part of the public school "action." In addition to these external factors, traditional authority structures within school districts have been undermined. As districts have grown larger and educational issues have become more complex, lay school board members have become increasingly dependent upon their professional staffs for information and recommendations. Rather than being the actual determinors of school policy, boards of education very frequently serve as agencies of legitimation for decisions made by professional staffs.

Burgeoning teaching militancy is certainly a major element in much of the contemporary conflict engulfing public education. More aggressive teacher organizations, fueled by organizational rivalry, have expanded collective bargaining or professional negotiations throughout the country in less than a decade. Classroom teacher acquiescence to administrators and school boards is a thing of the past and there can be little doubt that powerful teachers' groups will play an increasingly important role in determining educational policy.

In little more than a decade teachers have become a most potent political force,and one cannot debate that the breakthrough in 1961 of the United Federation of Teachers in New York City represented a turning point and heralded the dawning of a new era in the history of educational decisionmaking. Teachers within the past few years have become deeply involved in political campaigns and are beginning to use their political muscle in unprecedented ways. With impressive grassroots strength and the financial resources and staffs provided by large memberships,

teacher organizations can be overpowering, if not intimidating, to the traditional administrative and school board leadership in a community or state. With local tax revenues saturated, one can expect that teachers will use their influence to strengthen their collective bargaining rights and to support "right to strike" legislation at both the state and federal levels. It thus is reasonable to assert that the phenomenon of rising teacher power has affected profoundly every facet of educational decisionmaking and, indeed, has further dramatized the relative powerlessness of many who allegedly exercise educational leadership.

Militant parent groups, particularly in the large urban centers, also are questioning the traditional structure of public education. The movement to decentralize big city school systems, for example, has been a national phenomenon.

Protests by secondary school students also projected dramatically basic questions about the organization of American education. The tactics of students, of course, have generated a marked backlash in which politicians and others have criticized the schools for being too lenient with obstreperous youngsters.

In this age, most of our traditional institutions are being questioned, therefore, it is not surprising that school boards are constantly under critical analysis and are so vulnerable to attack. In this environment of institutional reassessment, it can be predicted with some confidence that education and its leadership at all levels will be increasingly controversial and politicized.

What, then, are the implications of these developments and trends for the U.S. Office of Education as it considers new plans for the preparation of educational leaders with the expiration of the Education Professions Development Act? I would offer the following comments.

Despite some efforts at reform there remains the acute need for an agonizing reappraisal of most current training programs. University-based programs must be supplemented to a far greater extent by internship programs and other field-based experiences which reflect more realistically educational leadership situations in which change increasingly is the only constant. More of the training must be done within the context of actual events in educational settings.

A new priority of leadership capabilities must be stressed with much greater emphasis placed upon developing skills in areas like political brokering, negotiating, and conflict management.

More feed-back should be elicited from parents, teachers, board members, and other grass roots sources in the development of training approaches for the leaders who will govern their schools. The inordinate influence of higher education in the preparation process must be balanced with the insights and experiential base of those on the firing line.

Professor Edwin M. Bridges of Stanford University in a recent paper cogently demolished many of the prevailing shibboleths concerning the preparation of educational administrators.[4] Bridges raises a series of pertinent points which raise very basic questions about the appropriateness of higher education's domination of the preparation process. He notes the "persistent lack of a positive relationship between formal preparation and administrator effectiveness" and poses a series of basic and troubling questions:

> "Both the informal appraisals and the formal evidence suggest a pithy, albeit disconcerting question, 'To what extent, and in what precise ways, do our graduate leadership training programs prepare individuals to deal with the realities of leadership?' Does formal preparation help the student contend with the demands for leadership imposed upon him by the exigencies of a "real-live" job as an administrator? Or, contrariwise, do our preparatory programs present points of view and provide experiences which are indeed dysfunctional for those who aspire to be leaders in formal organizations?[5]"

Bridges in his incisive examination of these questions--the paper should be mandatory reading for all concerned with the preparation of educational leaders--concludes that formal preparation for leadership may indeed be dysfunctional, and that trained incapacity may well be an unintended consequence of our well-intentioned efforts.

In examining these issues, Bridges analyzes the socio-technical and attitudinal socialization of administrators in the light of what is about the realities of leadership. His analysis is so trenchant that I have taken the liberty of quoting the following extensive portion of his summary section:

> "In discussing the attitudinal socialization of leaders, the author contended that the administrator thirsts for knowledge of results; however, he is unlikely to receive any formal feedback from his fellow functionaries. The leader seeks to

reduce the uncertainty surrounding his success by judging his performance in terms of his ego-ideal. The leader's formal preparation through its implicit and explicit treatment of leadership inclines him to adopt a grandiose ego-ideal; this heroic conception has several dysfunctional consequences for its unwary holder.

First, the leader is impaled on the horns of an agonizing dilemma. On the one hand, he earnestly aspires to lead his subordinates to what he considers the promised land; on the other hand, the organizational realities are not conducive to the fulfillment of this leadership fantasy. Second, the omnipotent component of his ego-ideal predisposes the leader to seek situations which apparently offer him the maximum opportunity to act out his leadership fantasies. Since these situations are perilous undertakings, the leader is snared in a Catch-22. He faces 'craziness' if he succumbs to his leadership fantasy and a sense of loss if he does not. Third, the excessively ambitious ego-ideal of the leader makes him especially vulnerable to disappointment; however, this same heroic conception deters him from seeking the social-emotional support he needs to deal constructively with his disappointment.

To assess the impact of the leader's socio-technical socialization, the author examined the degree of fit between the work of the student and the work of the manager along four dimensions--the rhythm and the hierarchical nature of work, the character of work-related communications, and the role of emotions in work. Each of these four dimensions revealed major disparities between student and managerial work; furthermore, the analysis highlighted numerous dysfunctional consequences.

Both the rhythm of the student's work and the modes of thought to which he is exposed during his training groove him for a slow work pace. However, the tempo of the manager's work is hectic and fragmented. The student's formal preparation, therefore, makes it difficult for him to exercise discretion within the abbreviated time frame of the practitioner. Moreover, he is apt to be overwhelmed by the constant need to shift his mental and emotional gears.

> When the hierarchical nature of student and managerial work is analyzed, the difference in positional rank suggests several additional sources of the leader's trained incapacity. The student acquires a passive orientation to the resolution of conflict-resolution; this type of orientation prompts the leader to use conflict-resolution techniques that are dysfunctional for the organization he heads. The subordinate nature of student work also fosters the continuation of lenient personnel assessments and promotes a reluctance to delegate.
>
> Discontinuities in the work-related communications of students and managers supply further grounds on which to question the appropriateness of leadership training. Administrators spend roughly equivalent amounts of time in sending and receiving roles; students, on the other hand, are far more likely to be receivers than senders. The spoken word is the major medium of communication for administrators while the written word is the chief medium of communication for students. Non-verbal communication plays a significant role in the work of the administrator and is relatively unimportant in the work of the student. The direction of communications in administrative work is characteristically two-way whereas the student is more typically involved in one-way communications. These disparities are a principal source of the administrator's communication difficulties.
>
> With respect to the role of emotions in work, the substantive content of the student's formal preparation and the placid emotional environment in which he works undermine his capacity for affective empathy, his ability to cope with anger, and his competence to manage his own inner emotional life. The more extended his training, the more of an emotional cripple he is likely to become."[6]

While Bridges admittedly proposed few remedies, his analysis must cause consternation among those of us who are or have been professors of educational administration and merits careful consideration by federal officials and others who might be instrumental in engineering reforms in the preparation of education leadership. As Bridges disturbingly concludes, "the trained capacity hypothesis stains all our houses."

What, then, are the chances for meaningful reform? Without the prod and stimulus of federal or foundation grants I cannot be sanguine about the future. I am dubious about the likelihood of self-reform in institutions of higher education. If preparatory programs were not extensively reformed in the exciting days of expansionary budgets in the 1960's, what realistically is the likelihood of such change in the decremental budgetary era of the 1970's? Many tenured and established senior faculty at institutions of higher education conscious of declining enrollments and ever-mindful of the singular economic importance of maintaining FTE's logically might be defensive and not particularly amenable to reducing their role in the preparatory process. Such reluctance may well cripple efforts to reform programs by expanding the clinical or field components. Indeed, without the stimulus and incentives offered by external funding sources, reform efforts, I fear, may well grind to a total halt in a shrinking job market.

Thus, it is even more important now than it was a decade or so ago to use federal resources to stimulate the development of new models for the preparation of educational leaders. Although I obviously am rather critical of contemporary training modes which I feel are inordinately dominated by the norms and needs of higher education, universities certainly must continue to play a major role in the preparation of educational leaders. My hope would be that new training models catalyzed by the federal government would have a broadened base of participation in their programmatic design and implementation and include representatives of teachers, administrators, parents and the general citizenry which also has such an important stake in the quality of educational leadership. As discussed earlier, educational decisionmaking currently takes place within the context of the macro-environment.

I should perhaps clarify what may appear to some to be unduly harsh and even unfair criticism of the universities which currently have the major responsibility for preparing educational leaders. Indeed, as an erstwhile professor knowing too well the vulnerability and occupational vagaries of contemporary college administrators, it behooves me to maintain in my own self-interest the umbilical cord with my professional friends in the field of educational administration. I think that there have been a number of notable efforts in recent years to rethink the basic ways through which we prepare educational leaders; the federally funded National Program for Educational Leadership and the City-University projects which have been discussed at this meeting, for example, are two significant attempts to reshape preparatory programs. In many institutions of higher education there have been sincere attempts to do a more effective and realistic job. Too many of these reform efforts have aborted, however, because the dialogue about

programmatic improvement has been too narrowly based and, indeed, parochial. Program development has remained in most cases the almost exclusive prerogative of professors and,although input has been solicited to a greater extent from practitioners, major decisionmaking responsibilities in regard to program have remained vested with the academy. Thus, programs still reflect the norms and values of the university,with scholarship dominant. Since the futures of professors in a declining job market will be dependent upon their publications and research, very understandably these activities are paramount and thus become the transcendent underlying foci of training programs.

I do not intend to take an anti-intellectual posture,particularly when professors of educational administration have made notable strides in recent years in the generation of valuable new knowledge and insights into educational leadership processes and issues. My point simply is that the environment in higher education, as Ed Bridges so effectively notes, is simply not compatible with the needs of practitioners. The academy is just too removed from the real and ever volatile world of the educational leader to be the major or exclusive determinor of program needs. While research contributions certainly are important, they frequently are too detached from reality or too esoteric to have meaning for beleaguered practitioners.

I thus would urge that training programs be more explicitly geared around the specialized needs of students and not be "catch-alls" for both prospective practitioners and researchers. Programs preparing researchers in educational administration should be labeled as such and not purport to meet the needs of practitioners. Programs for practitioners should likewise be labeled explicitly. Practitioners should be equipped to be intelligent consumers of research,but hardly need the training that is requisite for upward mobility as a college professor.

I would argue that too many institutions of higher education have followed an inappropriate model in their preparation programs for educational leaders. Professional schools in law and business, for example, are more relevant models for those responsible for preparing practitioners in educational administration <u>as distinguished from researchers</u> than are graduate schools in the arts and sciences where scholarship and research norms prevail. I would contend that those of us responsible for preparing educational leaders in higher education have been in some ways our own worst enemies. By trying to be all things to all people we frequently have done nothing well. We all too often have remained second-rate researchers or worse according to the criteria of arts and science faculties. Although professors of education have been seduced by graduate

faculty research norms, rarely have we earned the respect of our academic colleagues in the arts and sciences as scholars. At the same time the reward system in the academy has caused many professors of education to ignore the acute needs of practitioners.

My conviction is that many professors of educational administration would not only be more effective in working with practitioner students but also would generate greater respect on university campuses if they would be more realistic about their roles and strengths. In other words, too many education professors, who basically are not researchers, purport to be something they are not; namely, scholars in the traditional academic sense.

Many professors could make a less pretentious but more effective contribution if they would reassess their own strengths and weaknesses vis-a-vis their research, service, and teaching responsibilities.

This polemic will end with the simple wish that in the future more programs will be geared explicitly to the specialized needs of students and the society in general rather than being predicated almost exclusively upon the important albeit limited norms of the university. I thus would hope that the federal government in the future might fund more preparatory programs that were alternatives to university-based efforts.

We must also in the future pay much greater attention to defining what we mean by "educational leaders." This issue merits a full paper unto itself. Suffice it to say here, consonant with earlier themes of this paper, that any definition of educational leadership must now include teacher union leaders, parents, students, political leaders and their staffs, budget officers, and a host of other influential participants in addition to school administrators.

In closing this subjective potpourri of biases on the subject of preparing educational leaders,permit me to briefly recapitulate at the risk of repetitiveness some of the major points I have tried to make. Preparatory programs must link education more directly with other public services and stress the interrelatedness of major social, cultural, and institutional forces in the organization of the educational enterprise. Multi-disciplinary approaches and multi-sector experiences should be stressed,with the educational process defined broadly as consisting of much more than just formal schooling.

Training programs in their efforts to prepare cadres of leaders who will generate new definitions of education and new modes of interinstitutional relationships should stress the need

for the creation of options to the existing monopoly controlled so largely by people within the teacher training structure in higher education. New relationships are needed which will meaningfully involve parents, community representatives, teachers, and others with the now dominant professional education "guild" in the shaping of preparatory programs.

This "guild" domination, of course, is not unique to education. Seymour Sarason of Yale University penetratingly describes what he calls the "disease of professionalism" in our society:

> "All professions in our society suffer from professional preciousness and imperialism with headquarters in our universities. But I am not blaming our universities. They reflect our larger society. We have all colluded, unwittingly, in producing this age of specialization which has resulted in so many artificial discontinuities in our knowledge and its application. We have met the enemy and it is us."[7]

Whether we will be able to confront this "enemy" at a time when educational organizations are in a declining and not an expanding state may well be one of the very pivotal issues of the next decade.

Footnotes

1. Youth Transition to Adulthood, Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).

2. The Reform of Secondary Education: A Report to the Public and the Profession, The National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).

3. Stephen K. Bailey, "New Dimensions in School Board Leadership," Journal of the New York State School Boards Association (September, 1969): 12.

4. Edwin M. Bridges, The Nature of Leadership, Paper prepared for the Conference on "Educational Administration Twenty Years Later: 1954-1974," Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, April 27-30, 1975, 40 p.

5. Ibid., p. 2

6. Ibid., pp. 31-33.

7. Seymour B. Sarason in Foreword to The Urban School Superintendent of the Future by John Merrow, Richard Foster, and Nolan Estes, Southeastern Oklahoma Foundation of Durant, Oklahoma, 1974.

ISSUES AND LEADERSHIP

William R. Grant

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I am not an educator. I am not an expert in the training of educators nor in educational leadership. I make these observations with whatever limited credentials being a reporter on issues in education for the past decade may have earned me.

There would be little point in my attempting a discussion of the technical issues of training educational leaders. I would like, however, to try to put the issue of educational leadership in the broadest possible context by discussing some of the most critical issues I see as facing school officials today. This will lead to some discussion of qualities of leadership I believe to be important and, finally, to some rather limited observations about the training of future school administrators.

The Two Most Critical Issues

In my view the two most critical issues facing education today are the inequalities of finance and race. I would argue that most of the other controversial issues facing American schools, indeed American society as a whole, either flow from or relate to these central issues.

In Michigan, which has achieved some national recognition for attempts to equalize school financing, the disparity of which I speak is still painfully apparent. During the 1974-75 school year, the average expenditure per student from combined state and local funds averaged $975 statewide. But a number of districts were spending $500 and $600 per student while in Oak Park, a Detroit suburb, spending reached $1,759, the highest in the state.

Detroit city schools spent $915 on each student, just under the state average. But surrounding the city are numerous school systems where the wide gap in money available to support education is clear. The middle class and wealthy suburbs generally had the funds to support school programs regarded to be among the best in the state. Dearborn, home of the Ford Motor Company, spent $1,669 on each student. Bloomfield Hills, home of many of the top auto company executives, spent $1,268. Grosse Pointe, which lies just east of Detroit and is closer to downtown than many of the city's own residential neighborhoods, spent $1,275.

In the blue collar, working class suburbs, however, the pattern was different. Spending was at or below the state average, and in some areas far below. Anchor Bay spent only $617 on each student; South Lyon only $884; and Huron only $884.

Couple this with the inequalities of race and the result is separate and unequal education. In metropolitan Detroit, 88 percent of the blacks in the three-county area live in the city. And 78 percent of the remaining metropolitan area blacks live in the heavily black suburban areas of Inkster, Highland Park, Pontiac, River Rouge, Ecorse, and Royal Oak Township.

By contrast, there were about 275,000 people living in the suburbs like Birmingham, Bloomfield Hills, Farmington, Southfield, Dearborn and the five Grosse Pointes at the time of the 1970 census. Only 261 of them, or less than one percent, were black.

You have all heard the easy American answer to both of these problems: upward mobility. When blacks, and the blue collar whites, get a better education and a better job, this argument goes, then they will make more money, move to better neighborhoods, and, eventually, all things will be equal.

It's not quite so simple as all that. The argument overlooks the basic fact that many blacks have already achieved a better education and more money but that this schooling and income has not been matched with the ability to live anywhere they choose. Research by Reynolds Farley and others of the University of Michigan (Amer Journal of Sociology: Oct.1973, pp. 595-610) has shown that a smaller percentage of blacks earning between $15,000 and $29,000 annually live in the suburbs of Detroit than of whites in the $5,000 to $7,000 range. If Detroit-area blacks were distributed simply on the basis of income level, Farley says, then 67 percent of the metropolitan area's black population would live in the suburbs instead of the present 12 percent.

Professor Nathan Glazer, one of the leading intellectual foes of busing as a means of achieving school integration, said last fall in a discussion at Teachers College (Teachers College, Notes on Education: April 1975,p. 4) that his opposition to busing is based partially on his belief that this kind of overt action is not necessary to assure that we have an integrated society. "The issue," he said, "is whether the direction, the tendency in American history has been to exclude, exploit, oppress and the like" Or, he asks, "has the direction of American history . . . been to expand, include (and) equalize?"

Professor Glazer makes clear that he believes equality is the theme that runs through all American history. I am afraid I cannot agree. I suggest that the central theme of this nation since the time the first black slaves were landed in Jamestown in 1619 has not been, as Professor Glazer would have us believe, to "include (and) equalize." Certainly that has not been the theme of our treatment of blacks and other minorities.

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Is it the responsibility of educators to try and solve these problems? I submit that it is. Education is the first step toward fulfillment of the American dream. And the education process is particularly corrupted by these forms of discrimination. It is important for our educational leaders to take whatever steps they can to eradicate discrimination from our schools. But more importantly, it is time for educators to call for the action on the part of others--political leaders and private citizens alike--that is necessary to end discrimination. We find ourselves in a time when egalitarianism is not popular. Much of our political leadership seems interested in appealing to the worst that is within us rather than the best. That makes it all the more important for the men and women to whom the nation has entrusted the education of its children to speak out strongly against those practices which debase us all.

Some Other Issues

I said I regarded inequality in finance and race to be the most critical issues facing the schools today. But I want to devote some attention to the most obvious other problems which face today's educational administrator. All of these are very real problems now in the big cities and in the larger states. I see every reason to believe, however, that all school officials everywhere will in time come to experience these same difficulties.

The school superintendent has always had to be a money manager of sorts. It has been his responsibility, even if his only training in finance was a high school or college math course, to find enough money within a budget which never seemed large enough. But now money management has become everybody's problem. Even in those systems which do not have formal decentralization, it is becoming increasingly common for individual schools to be assigned budgets. Principals have varying degrees of control over this money now, but it seems likely that future school superintendents will find themselves sharing more and more of their decisions about spending with other administrators at all levels. This means some experience in dealing with finances should be an important part of every administrator's training.

The personnel problems of the school official used to be rather limited. Now, with the advent of unionism for public employees, personnel management has become exceedingly complex. Almost half of the states now recognize the rights of teachers and other public employees to unionize and engage in labor negotiations. In Michigan, more than 98 percent of the state's 100,000 teachers are covered by a negotiated labor contract. The modern school official has to deal not only with a teacher union, but with unions representing principals and other administrators, teacher aides,

clerical workers, bus drivers, custodians and so on. In Detroit, there are 20,000 employees of the city school system. Only about 25, the superintendent and his executive staff, are not covered by a negotiated labor contract. And, I might note, during several recent years of tight budgets, these were the only school system employees who did not get some kind of pay increases.

Perhaps the most frustrating problem of all for educators develops when they find themselves dealing with the news media. Unlike political figures, who are forced to deal with reporters through every level of their careers, educators have no training or experience in handling the media. Suddenly an educator finds himself in a visible position where he is forced to deal with the public and the media. Most educators, I think, both misunderstand and distrust the media. Most reporters misunderstand and distrust educators. Educators complain that they cannot get what they want in the media in the way they want it to appear. Reporters complain that they cannot get educators to say anything important or to state it clearly. There is frustration on both sides.

School officials face a host of legal problems, and it is frequently argued by superintendents that judges and not educators run the schools. Court orders--whether local or national--require certain standards of due process in dealing with students and employees. The treatment of minority students and staff is subject to scrutiny by the courts. Even in the area of curriculum, the courts have said what must be done about the teaching of those students to whom English is a second language and of those children who have physical or mental handicaps.

In addition, state legislation and regulations govern almost every aspect of education in many states, from the number of hours in the day to the kind of teachers in the classroom. The state legislatures frequently have more control over the local school budget than local school administrators. Legislators often see themselves as serving on a super school board and take the opportunity to require the teaching of driver education and career planning and to prohibit teachers from giving students information about birth control.

What Kind of Leaders?

Controversy is the common thread which runs through all of these problems. We have all heard educators lament the controversial nature of their jobs and speak longingly of getting the politics out of education. I doubt that there was ever a time when education was not political. And, I would argue, that controversy is almost by definition a part of the job of an educational

administrator. What do we expect of our schools? Do we expect them to pass on to our children the same values we hold? Do we expect them to give students some basic facts and figures and leave value training to the home? Or do we want the schools to give our children critical and analytic skills, even though these facilities will sooner or later be turned on us? There is no agreement in our society on the mission of our schools. We all embrace rhetorically that marvelously ambiguous phrase "quality education." But each of us translates it differently.

So it is with educational leadership. Do we want our school administrators to simply manage the education system, to run it effectively and efficiently? Or do we want change? And what kind of change? Toward a more traditional 3-R's approach? Or toward a more progressive approach? Any school administrator, even in the most homogeneous school district, is destined to displease at least some people. Many, if not most, school administrators seem to deal with this problem by simply doing nothing, hoping that a pleasant smile and a vocabulary most people don't understand will mask their indecision. I suppose there are places where this approach works. But I doubt those educators who try to be all things to all people can escape controversy for very long. I would argue that you might as well be embroiled in controversy for taking an unpopular stand as to become controversial for taking no stand at all.

None of the problems I have discussed are educational issues in the traditional sense. The kinds of problems that face educators today have led some to conclude that the schools would be better served if the administrators, or at least the superintendent and some other top staff, were drawn from the ranks of those trained in law, business, public relations or labor negotiations.

While it is certainly true that the expertise of all of these professions is needed in education today, I think it is folly to suggest that we should turn the running of our schools over to those without educational background or training.

The Detroit school system has been for much of the past two years run by a noneducator. There was an official superintendent who had spent a lifetime in education, to be sure. But from mid-1973 until mid-1975 the man in effective charge of the school system was the executive deputy superintendent whose training was in law and labor negotiations. This deputy had spent eight years in various administrative positions with the school system before reaching what was in effect the top position. An issue in his formal appointment as superintendent would have been a Michigan law which requires school superintendents to have "a teacher's

certificate or the equivalent." The Michigan state Board of Education has never defined the term "equivalent."

I must confess that the discussion of this law struck me as ridiculous at the time, because it seemed to me that the problems faced by the superintendent of schools in a city like Detroit had little to do with education. But I have had second thoughts, largely because of Detroit's experience over these two years. Those years witnessed an almost constant battle between the school administration and its employees,and the operation of the schools suffered as a result. I do not want to overstate the case. Certainly many factors were involved in what was happening in Detroit. Because the deputy superintendent had been the school system's labor negotiator, he was regarded by employees as an adversary, and he seemed to regard the employees, particularly the teachers, who are represented by the largest and most militant union, as adversaries. That is a very specific problem that would not necessarily apply to another noneducator administrator in another time and place. But there is, I think, one important point to be made in this connection, and it is a fact which I overlooked in my early analysis of the nature of the superintendent's job. It is critical, I now believe, for top school officials, those with direct control over the operation of the schools, to have an understanding and appreciation of the way schools operate. More importantly, they should understand that education depends in a very basic way upon the chemistry between a teacher and a group of students in a classroom.

Noneducators who are unfamiliar with what goes on in a classroom, or educators who have forgotten their own classroom experiences, are ill-suited, I think, for positions of line authority in a school system. Too much of what is wrong with American education today is the result of officials who put their emphasis on running "systems" and not "schools."

I do not want this to be understood as a blanket condemnation of noneducators in educational administration. Quite the contrary, it is important, as I already have indicated, to have the expertise of other professions in education. The regulations, like that Michigan law which requires a teacher's certificate of school administrators, are much too narrow. The issue is more one of experience and understanding than of formal training. I think it important that noneducator school administrators understand schools. But I think it important also that educator school administrators understand schools as well.

To underscore my argument that basic human and intellectual qualities are more important than background and formal training, I think we have to look no further than Detroit and Philadelphia.

Mark Shedd was one of Theodore Sizer's bright young men from Harvard when he was handpicked by a new, reform-minded Philadelphia board to take over the city's public schools. He was aggressive, outspoken, and given to dramatic moves, such as his decision to demote several hundred central office administrators shortly after taking control. Norman Drachler had spent a lifetime in a Detroit school system when he was chosen as superintendent by a board which had just been turned down by the nationally known outsider it had wanted for the job. Drachler was quiet, scholarly, and not given to flamboyant gestures. His sense of basic humanity and compassion runs so deep that I doubt he ever found it possible to dismiss anyone, let alone displace hundreds.

I used to wonder, when Drachler was superintendent in Detroit and Shedd was in charge in Philadelphia, what the experience of these two quite similar school systems might tell us about the best approach for running schools in a big city. Would the outsider like Shedd who turned the system upside down in a dramatic and visible fashion accomplish more than the quiet, up-through-the system, soft-spoken Drachler? Now that both men have gone on to deal with other problems, I think it fair to conclude that each made a significant impact on his own school system. The changes brought about by Drachler in Detroit were every bit as significant, even if they were not made in as visible a fashion. He was clearly the right man in the right place. And, from my more limited experience with Philadelphia, I would argue that the system was ready for a vigorous shaking from the outside. Mark Shedd was the right man at the right time in the right place.

Despite these marked differences in background and approach, however, Drachler and Shedd shared common ideals and goals. There is not one right way to run a school system. I think that basic human and intellectual qualities are more important than any particular training or approach.

Who Leads?

Despite the impact of men like Drachler and Shedd, the school systems in Detroit, Philadelphia and elsewhere continue to have problems. Many of the major problems affecting the schools are beyond the power of educators to solve. That is why any consideration of educational leadership must look beyond a narrow definition of educational leaders.

School board members are the most obvious noneducators involved in the education decision-making process. The old-fashioned school superintendents I know believe that a major function of their office is to keep their school board under control, and beyond that, to

exercise some measure of control over who gets on the school board in the first place. I know there are many school systems in the nation where this is the way things work. It is certainly not the rule, however, especially in big cities where school boards are likely to take an independent turn of mind. More than one superintendent has lost the battle with his board over trying to draw that imprecise line which separates a policy decision from an administrative one.

In those cities where there has been successful pressure for increased community involvement, the entire nature of the school board may have changed. When Detroit began school decentralization in 1971 a 13-member school board replaced a seven-member board. The old board had been elected from the city at-large, and all of its members were professional men--four lawyers, a doctor, a businessman and a minister. The new board included five elected from the city at-large and eight elected from districts. It was possible to win election to that first decentralized school board from some districts with 5,000 votes, about 1/20th of what was required to win election when the board was chosen by all voters in the city. As a result, the board had--and continues after two additional elections--a grassroots flavor. A few professionals won or retained their board seats, but the predominant group was housewives. Running a school system with a board unaccustomed to decisionmaking, budget discussions and public conflict proved to be an entirely new experience for Detroit administrators.

The most important decisions affecting American education, however, are not made by school superintendents or by their boards of education. They are made for the most part by state and national political leaders. Educators routinely lament the fact that non-educators--be they governors, legislators or others--make education decisions. Some of this criticism is well-placed, since many a ridiculous program has been forced on the schools by unknowledgeable outsiders. But, I would submit, most of the advances made in education also have been accomplished, if not initiated, by those outside of education. The fight to end the racial inequalities that afflict the nation has been carried on, with rare exceptions, by those outside of education, even though the schools have been one of the most critical battlegrounds in that struggle. The effort to secure more equal funding has been fought more by lawyers than educators.

Educators both like to avoid controversy and to stay out of areas they somehow define as being none of their concern. The education community seems unable to agree on what stand to take on most issues, so politicians end up turning elsewhere for advice.

I have reported on education in Michigan for eight years. In that period the state's education groups--the teacher organizations, the administrators' association and the like--have been able to agree on only one thing. They all opposed public aid to private and parochial schools. The battle against aid to parochial schools was won in Michigan, and I think in substantial measure because all of public education in Michigan was united behind one position.

I understand why various factions of the education community find it impossible to forge a common position on teacher strikes, for example. But I cannot imagine why it is impossible to unite behind something more than a timid and general call for an end racial segregation. Educators faced with the battle for a more equitable system for funding schools have seemed mainly concerned with protecting the interests of their own districts. Suburban and rural school officials oppose or ignore attempts to get more money for city school systems out of fear it will mean less money for their own schools. Yet why should there not be support from educators for the concept that extra funds and smaller classes are needed for children who were born and reared in extreme poverty? American education has come to support the notion that precisely this kind of extra help is due those children with physical and mental handicaps.

Even though educators do not have the power to implement many of their grand designs, it does not mean that school officials should not stand up and be counted. I would hope that the U.S. Commissioner of Education would take the lead. I would hope more could be said of the present and future commissioners than that they believe in career education. I would hope that the chief state school officials would set a climate of educator comment on critical issues in each of the states. I know most of them do not. I would hope that the local superintendent would have more to say than an annual greeting to new teachers. Political leaders might be inclined to take education more seriously if educational leaders would not accept quite so passively some of the statements of politicians.

Whatever stands educators take, however, it seems that improvement in education likely will continue to be in the hands of political leaders. Ways must be found to extend training to those noneducators who make critical educational decisions. The Educational Staff Seminar is one instrument for bridging the professions of education and government. More programs of this sort are needed, especially at the state level. Programs are also needed for new and potential school board members, especially those without any background in the decision-making processes. Training programs for non-educators, whether they are for school board members or

other governmental leaders, will always have a critical shortcoming. They cannot, of course, be required for advancement or election in the same way that educators can be required to take certain types of training before advancement. The difficulty does not mean, however, that such programs should not be attempted.

Training of Administrators

This leads me finally to some observations about the kinds of training I think would be valuable for future educational administrators. In making these comments I am heavily influenced by the kind of training I think valuable for journalists. Both professions, I would argue, require certain technical skills which I believe are better learned by experience than in the classroom. Journalism schools have traditionally short-changed their students' liberal arts educations in favor of teaching the mechanics of writing and editing.

My limited observations of schools and colleges of education leads me to believe that they also are entirely too mechanical. I believe the most valuable training in the mechanics of journalism is experience. I suspect that is also true of education. I would refashion schools of education to require that students be given the best liberal arts education available. I think it especially important that teachers spend most of their academic lives exploring issues and ideas instead of learning how to prepare posters for the elementary classroom. I would add to this broad liberal arts background the most limited kind of training in the mechanics of teaching, and, later, of administration. I would then leave the rest to be learned in supervised and unsupervised field experience.

A former president of the union which represents principals and other middle-level administrators in Detroit once said to me that any system--school system or otherwise--would be well run if all of its managers and workers were exceptional people. "What we need," he said, "is a system that works well with ordinary people, average people." It has been argued that educators are more average than those in some of the other professions, but I don't make that argument here. What I do argue is that it is important for future administrators to learn how to solve problems in practice as well as in theory. Every successful administrator I know concedes his problem-solving skills evolved from actually solving problems. The theoretical background is needed, but it is no substitute for being shouted down by an angry parent.

I am not an advocate of rigid, formal credentialing systems. I think one of the most critical changes needed in American education is an overhaul of certification procedures that limit the field to

those with only very specific training and backgrounds. In addition, I would abolish those requirements in union contracts or elsewhere that virtually require promotion to administrative positions to be made from within a given school system.

I have said nothing about the need for a federal role in the training of educational leaders. Everything I have advocated can be done without any involvement by the federal government. But it probably will not be. The momentum and funding must come from some place, and I think it unlikely significant changes will be made in the pattern of educational training unless there is pressure for change from the federal government and funding to support those who are willing to try new approaches.

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN THE PREPARATION OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERS

Martin Burlingame

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My theme is stolen obtrusively from a novel. In Long Division, Anne Roiphe chronicles the odyssey of a scorned and scarred woman and her ten-year old daughter as they wander from New York to a "quickie" Mexican divorce. One of their adventures involves being held captive in a trailer city inhabited only by the forgotten and dying elderly. One evening the heroine spies one of the ancients working diligently with scissors, paste, and magazines.

> He smiled sweetly, "Come see what I'm doing. I'm making a scrapbook," he said, "of all the things I always wanted to have and didn't get. It's going to be a record of memories of things I didn't have..."[1]

What seems so disjointed is that just ten years ago a proper theme for this paper would have been taken from Pollyanna. We were on the doorstep of a creative federal outburst in education, intent on helping children and remaking the old and flawed system. We were, every day and in every way, making the world a better place. Our programs touched the individual student, groups of students, teachers, curricula, school buildings and districts, administrative personnel, state departments of education, colleges and university programs in training, and federal agencies themselves. It was hard to find any group omitted from either federal interest or largess.[2]

Unless we are Pollyanna, the outlines of the last half of the '70's and the first half of the '80's for educators are clear.[3] We are a nation of smaller families, higher energy costs and dramatic shifts in training priorities. Colleges and universities enroll slightly more students than the early 1970's, but enrollment in colleges of education has dipped sharply. Our graduates in teaching and increasingly in administration are underemployed generally, if employed in education at all. Those operating schools are faced by militant teachers, unionized nonprofessionals, angry parents and staggering increases in costs associated with running the system. Gasoline, for example, has more than doubled in its per gallon cost in the last two years. All these rapidly increasing demands and expanding costs must be met with not only inflation-weakened but also actually dwindling revenues. The tight coupling of dollars to pupil numbers has reduced the income of the vast majority of America's 15,000 school districts. Bond issues to seek capital improvements or to increase revenues are chancy referenda as likely to be lost as carried.

It is this context that conditions much of this paper. Times not only make the man, they mold the education system. It is the legacy of these major dislocations and discontinuities of the last decade which is the setting for my themes. First, the eras leading

up to the last decade never supported our claims to professional status in education, particularly in the field of educational administration. Second, marked and easily discernible shifts of power are occurring in the arenas of educational policymaking, most of which weaken the administrator. Third, our intellectual tools for analyzing educational administration are in a state of flux, with a new paradigm generating more and more interest. Finally, the federal government has only limited targets of opportunity in educational administration in the next few years, and these targets seem hard to hit with federal efforts.

Weakened Professionalism

With rare exceptions, training in educational administration has been the passing on of practices and principles. Over 300 institutions grant some form of masters degree in school administration and over 100 grant doctorate degrees. The flurry of activity to upgrade this enterprise which occupied much of the 1950's and 1960's has diffused neither its research nor its theoretical orientation through this large and diverse collection of institutions.[4] In all but the most elite institutions, those initially identified with the University Council on Educational Administration, research traditions have not taken firm root. Very few paradigms exist which are based solely on study of educational administration, professors do not spend great amounts of time on research, and a questionnaire mailed to respondents is the chief dissertation tool for students.[5]

Today, the great bulk of applicants for administrator training programs are either the young and unemployed or those firmly fixed in systems, intent on a slow climb, a salary increase, and a lower management position. The lack of opportunities for mobility suggests that the teacher/administrator of the future may be "locked in" to a school district at the moment of initial employment. This lack of mobility may heighten parochialism of perspective and enhance the impact of the limited rewards school districts can offer. The spectre of unemployment or permanent life-long commitment in the first year may drive off new and fresh talent. Schools may be left increasingly with those who could not, and probably would not.

The surplus of credentialed but un or underemployed suggests three problems. First, there is a blunting of ambition or at least its suppression as a morale factor. We are at the end of the era of the itinerant schoolmaster. Second, systems of sponsorship which controlled the mobility patterns of the trained are in disrepair. The professor who shuffled superintendents or the director of school administrator associations who linked movers and vacancies are both

creatures of the past. What system exists is one of the intensive and ruthless competition in a fragmented market. Finally, legislators are not far from raising serious questions about the linking of pay increases to advanced study. This engine of salary increases undoubtedly will sputter in the next few years. It seems likely study will be mandated but divorced from the current high and positive correlation with the salary schedule.

These shifts are not alone precipitated by population changes or inflationary costs. As Vickers has written, "...the general level of education has risen so much as to mute the distinction which once gave prestige to the 'learned' professions as such."[6] Not only has the general level of education increased, so have the areas of life which deserve the title of professional. Modern computer data management or much of the work in city planning, for example, have all the characteristics of learned professions and have yet to reach their thirtieth birthday as fields.

The expansion of learning and of professional skills has heightened suspicion of educational professionalism. Most professions possess esoteric knowledge and technologies. Educators have lagged in efforts to produce either unique educational knowledge or specific and transferable technologies. The failure in the 1940's, 1950's and early 1960's to generate a science of and technology for education as bases for professionalism is a haunting reality to educators today. The critics of the late 60's, those who found education joyless and mindless, could rail because no effective, data-based arguments could refute them. We had no ways to generate information which could even bear on the critics concerns, let alone point out any inaccuracies in what they thought they found in the schools.

Of all educators, administrators undoubtedly suffered most in this period. Their training and experiences generally were inadequate for the demands placed upon them.[7] They lacked training in terms of analytic skills for describing the dynamics of the school district as a complex system or in grasping the rapidly shifting political environment of the era. Administrators possessed few synthetic skills which linked education to either other governmental welfare services or to the free enterprise system. In the big cities boards brought superintendents to the chopping block with a regularity that would have pleased Robespierre. The safe havens of the suburbs soon followed suit. Superintendents lived their own reign of terror.

Shared Power

The noisiest causes of superintendent turnover were two separate attacks on their leadership. Teachers and parents disputed the earlier ideology of administrative leadership. The ideology which dominated both professional training and life-style of most superintendents came from the beginning of this century when the Progressives sought to reform municipal life. As Hays has demonstrated:

> The movement for reform in municipal government, therefore, constituted an attempt by upper-class, advanced professional, and large business groups to take formal political power from the previously dominant lower- and middle class elements so that they might advance their own conceptions of desirable public policy.[8]

The two-step necessary to pull off this coup in education involved, first, the election of small, at-large school boards in place of large, ward elected and partisan boards, and, second, the appointment of a credentialed, professional administrator. Like-minded board and superintendent reflected the best of Progressive professionalism and ideology. Recent scholarship by Tyack[9] suggests the marginal impact of professional training on superintendents but the importance of personal characteristics and deeply rooted beliefs of the administrator. Male, white, rural, and deeply committed to schooling and to a melange of implicit American values, boards picked "the man."[10]

Two groups now wrestle with the administrator for power. Parents, initially minority but also increasing middle class, have reiterated the philosophy of localism. The issues of decentralization and of busing are instant replays of the older Progressive battle. Increasingly militant and assertive, teachers have demanded examination at least and extermination at most of managerial prerogatives. The emerging trend in the last few years of superintendent, teachers, and parents actively competing for power is enough to cause Progressives to turn over in their graves. The older image of professional analysis of what is best and management to reach those goals for all has been replaced by the pandemonium of politics.

It is not enough to describe briefly the elements in this new decisionmaking compound. Certain characteristics of this political game are clear already.[11]

First, there are major issues over who has the right to say what constitutes legitimate social demands for educational services.

Traditionally parents have used school boards to set broad policies which were consistent with citizen perception of educational needs. Traditionally,administrators have resisted these demands,often appealing to professional expertise to introduce newer social demands into backward communities. Once-passive teacher groups now suggest that certain of their usual behaviors such as "service for no pay" are poor exemplars of social practice to the young. As teachers expand the scope of their demands, they often implicitly suggest new societal demands. (One striking example is the issue of employment of pregnant but unwed teachers.) All these groups seek actively the power to define societal needs, often using the rhetoric of "student need."

Second, there are struggles surrounding the translation of these societal demands into technical proposals. The issues of who has the right to participate in this educational decision process usually involves problems of professionalism and specialization. The area of social studies or sex education are easy examples of the intensity of conflicts which can erupt over translation prerogatives.

Third, the elaboration of various proposals into a coherent educational program raises the spectre of priorities. One can recall vividly the struggles in West Virginia over textbooks last year as parents, preachers, townspeople, teachers, administrators, TV commentators and book vendors, among others, propounded differing answers to questions about the true nature of Americanism, literature and religion. Benoit has written cogently on this issue.

> Decision-making in education is pervaded with a relatively high degree of uncertainty: the knowledge-basis sustaining perceptions, proposals, or decisions often is not a very firm one and is known to be "shaky." As a consequence, we may expect ideology to play an important role...by offering, for example, participant groups an internally consistent model of interpretation in such cases where available "hard knowledge" is too scarce or too "piece-meal".[12]

While most conflicts are not as dramatic as those of West Virginia, they are a consistent part of the life of administrators.

Finally, increasing attention now is paid to implementation. The traditional right of teachers to close their classroom doors and hence mitigate demands is under scrutiny. Demands for accountability, improved evaluation schemas, and improved performance on standardized tests are harbingers of parental dismay and administrative distrust over teacher effects. It growingly is

evident that implementation of policy by teachers will no longer be taken for granted.

Hence, administrators exist clearly in a field of forces with parents and teachers as separate poles. Such a situation is ripe for coalitions such as administrator and teachers versus parents, parents and teachers against administrators or administrators and parents versus teachers. Such coalitions and their formation were not a part of the administrators life or training even a few years ago. Shared power is no longer an issue but a truism.

Shifting Paradigms of Research[13]

Much social science scholarship in the last 25 years has explored our organizational society. Terms such as bureaucracy, line and staff, or span of control, are common-places in discussions of work in organizations. Most of these terms spring from analyses done of industrial firms. Social science analysis of firms provides many of the key concepts for the theoretical and empirical analysis of schools as organizations.

The exploration of schools as organizations has been dominated by models drawn from profit-seeking organizations. This rational-industrial model has stressed clarity of goals, development and linkage of technology to goals, and permanence of key personnel. Decisionmaking under these conditions is seen as a rational process consisting of the following: (a) specification and clarification of an objective; (b) survey of alternative means for reaching that objective; (c) identification of positive and negative effects of alternatives; and, (d) evaluation of consequences in light of the desired objective. These notions fit together into a coherent package which views conflict over ultimate goals as dysfunctional if not destructive, adequate means as always available and handy, and participation in the decision process determined solely by the objective and means under discussion. Conflicts always are resolved by applications of reason or by professional expertise: problems are defined, means devised and participants willing and eager. Much of this tradition is our Progressive legacy.

The past decade or so of educational activity has challenged this rational-industrial model. We are confronted with a plethora of conflicting educational goals. Their diversities can not be glossed over by simplistic generalizations. A more enlightened, and perhaps more cynical, set of subpublics clearly want many different things done in schools. Is that denominator to be the preparation of children for work or for leadership roles? Is common schooling to perpetuate or to change social arrangements?

Such conflicts plague those who ask legislators or citizens to make further investments in schooling.

Questions over educational means abound. No single method, no single technology seems to satisfy the various tasks of educating the young. Research on instructional methods frequently finds no significant differences among various technologies. While some methods are put aside clearly for ethical reasons, others such as lecture, discussion, television or computer seem to produce remarkedly similar results. Differing reading methods end up teaching reading equally well, no matter how taught no one seems to have good penmanship, and all sorts of mathematics teaching methods produce students who can do elaborate equations. These technologies neither always fail nor always succeed. To compound matters even more, the cost of these methods seems to bear little relationship to their success or failure. Educational technology appears intractable.

Finally, there is highly variable participation in schools. Students come and go with great rapidity, teachers do not seem to stay a long time and administrators leave often. All in all, most schools lose or turn-over about 30% of their children in a single year. While these rates vary, a close look indicates the composition of any school varies from day to day. The usual faculty loss averages from eight to ten per cent each year, while school superintendents last in most districts about six years. Big city superintendents survive less than three years. The major policymaking body for districts, the school board, changes in composition, generally through election or appointment, every two years.

What these notions suggest is that a model of schools which sees them possessing a single objective, or a set of objectives which are clear and neatly delineated into priorities, with well-established and definitive technologies practiced by permanent cadres, is dangerously misleading. The rational-industrial model guides us to a series of issues and problems and analytical techniques which obscure, rather than enhance, our view of schools as organizations. Solutions and policies which rest upon the rational-industrial model may be doomed to failure because they misunderstand the very nature of the schools.

If educational goals are so equivocal, if technologies are so uncertain and if participation is so variable, why haven't these issues been explored earlier? First, in periods of rapid growth the issues of equivocal goals or unclear technologies are not paramount.[14] Much of the history of American education since the 1950's can be written in terms of rapid expansion. The baby boom triggered unbridled growth in the number of American schools. New

facilities, teachers and administrators were created rapidly to meet the on-rush of children. With expansion, issues surrounding goal conflicts or different technologies provided excitement, not consternation. Differences over goals or means became rallying points, providing opportunities for experimentation, for novelty or for a sense of accomplishment. In such an expansionist atmosphere, efforts to integrate the schools, to meet the challenges of foreign superiority in space or to conquer the problems of inner cities, seemed surmountable.

With the stabilization, and in most areas decline, of school enrollment, pressure has grown for clearer goals and technologies. At a time when the expansionist mode accentuated diversity of goals, the motor of change--increased school enrollments--ceased to function. Since most school finance plans are tied closely to average school enrollment, the dollar crunch accentuated the need to establish not only what schools should do but also how they should work. The demands for the accountability of teachers or for the learning of specific competencies by children reflect the concern of the 1970's. The goals and means of education are once again a part of public debate.

Second, the long and established tradition of research in education is concerned with the means of education. Research on the teaching-learning process in reading, social studies or physical education has been a bulwark of educational research. Nearly all the empirical investigations dealing with issues of school administration, organization or policymaking, have occurred since the mid-1940's. Most of this research has utilized the industrial model and implicitly assumed continued population growth. Added to the wisdom of practitioners, this research stream has emphasized clarity of objectives and means. The problem often put to research has been one of presenting findings to administrators so that they may in turn instruct and then evaluate teachers on proper methods. School principals became front line foremen, running a taut ship and intent on helping workers improve their technology.

The rational-industrial model is a poor analog for schools. It ignores the equivocality of educational goals, denigrates important discussions over means, ignores the professional intent of teachers, and overlooks the rapidly changing characteristic of school populations. The model misguides our efforts through research to understand schools as organizations. Its greatest danger is that it leads to the development of research traditions and findings which overlook the real world of the school for variables and concepts drawn indiscriminately from industrial studies. By using these notions, without hesitation, analysis of schools often produces

portraits of irrationality. In contrast to industrial models, efficiency in education may involve alternative means or effectiveness may mean multiple and diverse outcomes. Debates over the impact of schools on children, closely linked to the work of Coleman and Jencks, may be enriched by understanding not only that differing school arrangements may influence school outputs but also that the input-throughput-output model of shcools is only one limited version of the rational-industrial model.

While suspect, the rational-industrial model may fit well with some situations in schools. Some situations can be rationally analyzed, clarified and resolved. Books can be distributed, children moved from classroom and equipment purchased. But much of the work that researchers have done assumed a clarity of goal and means beyond these management procedures. A close inspection of schools will suggest the limited applicability of the rational-industrial model. Schools are not education factories, plants through which interchangeable students uniformly are processed by interchangeable teachers. Efforts to improve schools based on this model all too often produce results no one wished for or even imagined. Programs aimed at improvement become bent from their founders' intents, take prodigious amounts of time and energy, and disappear as if by magic when external resource support wanes.

In contrast to the industrial model, the non-market, or public service, model stresses conflict and ambiguity over goals, differing and equivocal technologies and highly variable participation. In the last few years the non-market model has been used by a growing body of researchers intent upon exploring its usefulness for understanding educational institutions. For the rational-industrial model the clarity of profit made or lost was the fulcrum for rationality. In non-market organizations such a point is lacking because these organizations provide services deemed societally essential. Just as the police, the schools are domesticated by society--"kept" because they are viewed as necessary. Clients of educational institutions have only limited exit choices. For financial reasons, most parents can not opt for alternative systems. But as captive clients they can resort to "voice" by explicating what they wish from schools.[15] The everyday life of administrators and teachers confirms a parental insistence upon alternatives within a domesticated organization. The industrial model is particularly limited when such debates over means and goals arise. The model assumes tight and coherent linkages among goals and means and participants. The non-market model provides another way of making sense of organizational life in schools.

The non-market model suggests that shifting coalitions of varying participants with particularistic goals and technologies muddle through. Such diversity of goals and participation are rife with opportunities for conflict and compromise. Much of this rich organizational strife surrounds organizationally developed routines or procedures, e.g., budget making or hiring, retention and dismissal of personnel. These procedures are themselves subject to revision and can become critical points of conflict. Struggles over procedural issues, particularly if they significantly alter or redistribute access to decisionmaking, may be more intense than conflicts over substance. In contrast to the relatively neat and orderly pyramid which some use to characterize a rational-industrial model, a non-market model looks like a kaleidoscope of temporary routines and shifting boundaries.

The non-market model stresses the particularism of the goals espoused by organizational participants. In schools, teachers are trained in different institutions of higher education, specialize in different subject matter areas, and may use many different teaching styles. Coalitions such as second grade teachers or art teachers may concur on some goals for their groups, but vary internally on some objectives as well as often disagreeing totally among themselves and with others over universalistic statements of overall education goals. Even in areas such as physics where "harder" paradigms seem to obtain, disputes over subject mastery versus thinking modes are not atypical. Coalitions shift and change over time and with issues. What results is not a neat hierarchical ordering of goals, but a set of goals which are frequently specific to place, time and individual/group.

Technologies also fit this model. Ways of doing work vary greatly in schools. As noted earlier, these variant instructional technologies seem to produce remarkably similar results. Curriculum disputes seem to involve flags around which groups of teachers or administrators rally. That these methods differ in costs and intent seems evident; that they differ in their effectiveness is not evident. Efforts to link these various technologies to many important goals of education in explicit means-ends chains appear beyond the capabilities of exponents of the technologies.

Schools are densely crowded with people But people seem to be in constant motion in and out of the organization. As students mature they spend part of their time outside the school doing school work. Programs of released student time, for work or internship or religious training, contort the notion of a student body. Teachers have traditionally come and gone--to bring their own families into existence, to different concerns within schools or to new non-educational careers. Superintendents and their school boards, as noted earlier, are transient creatures shifting and changing with great rapidity.

Binding together these coalitions of people, this multiplicity of means and these shifting role inhabitants are the routines of the school. In the everyday life of schools, time (bells and clocks) provides structure. Children and teachers move to a rhythm of 20-minute modules or 55-minute class periods. Attendance imposes structure upon the entire life of the school as schoolmasters must account to parents on the whereabouts of their children. The election of board members or the need to prepare the next annual budget for the school district binds together the activities of various groups.

Routines perform two functions for non-market organizations. As noted, they present opportunities for constellations of groups to form and to produce stability. Routines take on a life of their own; they come into existence as "the" solution to some problem, persist long beyond the existence of that problem and imply that the world is stable and that "the" problem has remained "solved." Much of this stability is reflected by the organization in the statistics produced by the routine. Dollars per pupil, teacher-pupil ratios, gallons of floor wax used or numbers of students enrolling in college are statistics produced by routines which at one time sought to solve problems. By linking dollars to pupils, schools could assure themselves increasing funds as pupils increased. Quality could be inferred from those who were college-bound or from the careful preservation of the school plant.

The second function of routines involves the presentation of the organization to others. Routines present a face of rationality and orderliness for a sometimes chaotic organization. For non-market, domesticated institutions, totally dependent upon public good will and funds, representations of orderliness prevent outside interference and enhance the chances for continued funding. Squabbles must be kept private and in-house. Teachers must not complain to outsiders; principals must protect teachers from outsiders such as parents; and, superintendents espouse publicly that they must resolve only minor problems in "fundamentally sound" districts. Public displays of unity also gloss over critical differences in goals and technologies. Particularly useful for schools are elaborations of intangible goals whose vagueness allows exhortations around which all can gather, agree and then proceed to do a multiplicity of different things. The statistics produced by various routines often are used as evidence that intangible goals are being accomplished. These organizational faces guide outsiders away from criticism and to praise. All too often, organizational participants begin to see the school in the way it is presented to others. They begin to believe in its inherent rationality, its clarity of means, and some generally agreed to purpose.

Paradigm

Organizational Characteristics	Rational-Industrial	Non-market
Goals	Objective Agreed upon Measurable	Subjective Equivocal Confounded
Structure/ Technology	Hierarchical Task as divisible Task as technological problem	Unclear status Wholistic Task as social problem
Participants	Recruited Trained Motivated to work	Captured Uncertain backgrounds Resistant

The non-market model provides a powerful analog for coming to an understanding of the school as an organization. Its emphasis on the equivocality and ambiguity of goal and technology as well as the temporary liaison of people with schools highlights a series of important research issues begging exploration.

The Federal Intrusion

To this place three main points have been discussed. What these points constitute is a diagnosis of the major issues confronting those interested in educational administration. The knowledge base needed for professionalism must be developed, and a newer paradigm which may abet this process was explored. The need to develop and to use creatively new power and policy arrangements seems clear. What seems less clear is exactly what ways the federal government may, or ought to, assist in the development of educational administration.

As a non-profit enterprise, the educational system seeks to accomplish intangible, frequently contradictory goals. The equivocal nature of educational goals makes them prime targets for federal efforts at social change or at social control. Federal devices can range over the spectrum of subsidy, regulation, and manipulation or

even more interestingly, varied combinations of these control mechanisms.[16] Hence federal programs or decisions have stressed regulation (Title IX), subsidy (ESEA Title I) or manipulation (NDEA), but frequently to contrary ends. There have been efforts to seek equity, to guarantee excellence, to promote social justice and to develop a technological elite. The history of federal involvement is not a whole cloth--but a patchwork quilt.

Another way of making the same argument is to elaborate the major questions to be asked in studying federal problem definition and resolution. Simply, they are:

1) What are competing ways of framing the problem?
2) What are competing ways of generating solutions?
3) What are competing ways of getting solutions to clients who possess the problem?
4) What are competing ways of inducing those who control the reward system that your solutions are helping problem-ridden clients?

Federal efforts foster deliberately different problems, solutions and evaluation strategies at different times. Such "demonstration strategies" possess inherent strengths and weaknesses.[17] What needs emphasis throughout this entire discussion is the fact of the multiplicity of federal purposes, the chaotic nature of federal "thrusts" and the nearly complete absence of anything like single-minded federal control evident even when federal dollars were plentiful.

With these notions in mind, we now turn to federal targets of opportunity in the areas of training and of in-service professional development.

Training Institutions

There is no more thankless task than being a prophet in one's own land. Yet the outlines needed for above average guessing, prediction if you will, are emerging. First, training institutions must reduce the number of students being credentialed and increase their marketable skills. State legislatures will undoubtedly help this decision along by exposing and then pruning administrative "fat"--the tendency to build a large administrative cadre in lean times to aid in adjustment to expected better times--and by breaking the linkage between credits earned and salary received. Second, the training of students for credentialing will become more rigorous with greater emphasis on management skills and research capabilities. Courses will analyze administrative tasks and avoid either specific

role or educational level components. Research capabilities will be emphasized, with naturalistic studies emphasizing time-series problems seen as important. Third, there will be the virtual disappearance of the masters degree in administration as a terminal or important degree. There will be simply little financial incentive for such a degree if legislatures uncouple credits and salaries. Fourth, much university teaching will be done in off-campus professional development centers and be in-service courses. Such courses will deal with specialized, topical skills or issues, and will often be dictated and purchased by school districts. Fifth, several areas such as instructional leadership and supervision or curriculum development will be replaced by greatly increased work in quantification of decision processes and in policy analyses. Overall, students on campus in programs will be faced with less choice (some form of a core program) which is more rigorous than in-service training. Sixth, opportunities for faculty research and professional development will require judicious balancing of campus and field work. Access to research sites will have to be established by service trade-offs and recruitment of students will demand some of the skills currently associated with football or basketball recruiting. Seventh, marketing strategies for new graduates will depend less on their role-specific training and much more on their capabilities to bring general skills to bear and their capabilities for rapid on-the-job learning. Eighth, the core of courses to be taught will include: (a) organizational analysis and concepts; (b) qualitative and quantitative decisionmaking; (c) financial management and budgeting; (d) inter-organizational relations and coalition building. Ninth, overall staffing in departments will decrease slightly but adjunct or clinical appointments of short duration will multiply. Tenth, there will be efforts to link universities and school districts in arrangements which will permit personnel "swapping" and careful analysis of field and research related problems, such as implementation.

These tendencies suggest the creation of administrative technologists, concerned with the management of educational systems but not particularly aware of the uniqueness of educational institutions. At this point in time, I would suggest that our data base in educational administration offers little purchase on the uniqueness of the administration of educational institutions. As a field of study and practice, we have not delineated carefully those things which set schoolmen apart from generals, popes or businessmen. A part of the reason for this failure comes from our passion for studying the processes of administration with unduly rationalistic models and from our persistence in not recognizing

multiple purposes in education. Serious energy and empirical efforts need to be put to the question of uniqueness, and soon. The non-market model should help these efforts.

In-service Professional Development

In-service professional development will be influenced deeply by the psychological impacts of decline and loss of resources. The most important in-service developments will involve efforts to help those who captured positions in the early 1960's to see the unusual features of that period and to adapt to the 1980's without loss of vitality or perspective. What we face is a psychological turnaround which deemphasizes growth, talks about creative reductions in force, lives on less money and sees fellow educational workers growing older. As a declining industry, few opportunities will abound, excitement will be harder to come by and boredom will dominate.

Such words do not sit well on the American dream. But in the field of education it is difficult to foresee anything but decline. We still have not yet begun to see the effects--tragic or hopeful--on role incumbents in education. They are, nonetheless, coming. Exactly in what ways the personal orientations, the professional training and the aspirations of schoolmen will shift under decline is only speculative at best.

With this decline must come efforts at technical retraining. One creative thrust may be in the field of continuing education for adults. Its inclusion into the general arenas of educational thought needs hastening and its unique administration problems deserve exploration. Much work nonetheless will need to be done reconditioning administrators to decline and to techniques for resolving problems of reductionism. Some of the work will involve more strenuous efforts to service the public and gain much needed revenue. Some work will fix on evaluation techniques. Much energy will be expended in political efforts and understandings intent on upsetting legislative mandates such as tenure, attendance, and financial laws or such financial roadblocks as teacher salary schedules. The professional skills consonant with growth do not, at first blush, seem to fit decline.

Finally, training efforts will be initiated in the leadership of teacher organizations. As powerful partners in the educational enterprise, the teacher union bureaucrat needs exposure to the study of educational policymaking. It seems clear that the current press for economic gains is only the adolescence of collective negotiations in education; much needs to be done to provide alternative models to leaders of teacher groups.

These recommendations for in-service professional development may seem unduly modest. They are deliberately short-term because most of our models for training implicitly assume people with yearning ambition to succeed, eager and youthful to "make it." In the next few years in education the "grey heads and beards" will dominate. There will be little eagerness for newness and a good deal of anxiety about maintenance of some form of the status quo. It is a cheerless prospect.

By Way of Summary

I find little evidence that school administrators like what is happening to their roles or that they understand that the processes of decline are anything but the contraries of growth. Administrators and school boards are pruning the non-popular, which generally means those courses no longer required by colleges such as foreign languages. They are also cutting back extra-curricular services. To use Callahan's analogy,[19] if the school was once a multiple purpose service station offering almost everything to anybody, the school of the late '70's will be a cut-rate operation. Only the basics will be dispensed. The frills will be gone, departed to the category of those things done in the good old days.

It is hard to envision the federal government racing to the rescue. The funds expended in the 1960's, vast in comparison to other eras of our history, did not substantially change the schools. What did impact the schools most forcefully was the rapidly changing and turbulent social environment. Student protest, teacher militancy, decentralization and community control were all efforts to use the school as an instrument for social change. Title I, Title VII, Title IX and most other federal programs sought to use educational institutions as levers for societal change. What was discovered nearly universally was the bluntness of schooling as an instrumentality for societal improvement. The size of the system, its inherent uses as an economic-welfare system for many of its members, and its lack of expertise were internal hurdles. But many people external to schools refused to let them give up their traditional custodial function or their socialization of traditional values. Discipline involved the inculcation of Americanisms without question. The confusions of ends and idols, of purposes and facades in our schools reflect the torments of our society.

What many hope for now is some kind of outpouring of concern and humaness linked commonly with natural disasters. Floods, blizzards or tornados seem to bring out the best in people. Many hope that the problems of educational administrators will bind them into a community intent on helping each other. But this intense and downhearted observer finds many administrators bent over scrapbooks, with paste, scissors and magazines in hand muttering about the things they never had.

Footnotes

1. Anne Roiphe, Long Division. Greenwich: Fawcett, 1972, p. 154.

2. See Congressional Quarterly, Federal Role in Education. Second Edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1972, for an excellent review of this period.

3. The most searching and thoughtful appraisal of these issues in educational administration is to be found in Lewis B. Mayhew and others, Educational Leadership and Declining Enrollments. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1974. Also see Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Management of Decline," Change, 7 (June, 1975), p. 8 ff. and Joseph Gusfield, "American Professors: The Decline of a Cultural Elite," School Review, 83 (August, 1975), p. 595-616, for insightful comments on the issue of decline and education.

4. Evidence can be found in Roald F. Cambell and L. Jackson Newell, A Study of Professors of Educational Administration: Problems and Prospects of an Applied Academic Field. Columbus: University Council for Educational Administration, 1973, Chapters 3 and 5.

5. Emil Haller, "The Questionnaire Perspective in Educational Administration: Notes on the Social Context of Method," unpublished paper.

6. Geoffrey Vickers, "The Changing Nature of the Professions," American Behavioral Scientist, 18 (November-December, 1974), p. 178.

7. Two examples are: Peter Schrag, Village School Downtown: Boston Schools, Boston Politics. Boston: Beacon, 1967, Chapter V, and Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation: Comparative Case Studies of Community Structure and Policy-Making. Garden City: Anchor, 1969. p. 122-130.

8. Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 55, (1963), p. 162. This insightful article deserves close scrutiny.

9. David Tyack and Robert Cummings, "Leadership in American Public Schools Before 1954: Historical Configurations and Conjectures," unpublished paper, and David B. Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

10. For an interesting discussion of this point, see Jean Hills, "Preparation for the Principalship: Some Recommendations from the Field," Administrator's Notebook, 23, No. 9 (1975).

11. The general framework for this analysis is to be found in Roald F. Campbell, et. al., The Organization and Control of American Schools. Second Edition. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1970, p. 38-41. The specific elaboration of categories used in this paper is found in Andre Benoit, "A Note on Decision-Making Processes in the Politics of Education," Comparative Education Review, 19 (February, 1975), 155-168.

12. Benoit, p. 159.

13. Critical to much of this discussion are the works of James G. March, to be found principally in Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974, as well as a series of conferences and papers sponsored by The National Institute of Education in 1974-75.

14. See Boulding, op. cit., and W. K. Warner and A. E. Havens, "Goal Displacement and the Intangibility of Organizational Goals," Administrative Science Quarterly, 12 (1968), 539-555.

15. For an extended discussion, see Albert O. Hirschman, Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States. Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1970.

16. For an extended elaboration of this typology, see Randall B. Ripley (ed.), Public Policies and Their Politics: An Introduction to the Techniques of Government Control. New York: Norton, 1966.

17. For a thoughtful analysis of the demonstration strategy, see Martha Derthick, New Towns In-town: Why a Federal Program Failed. Washington, D.C. Urban Institute, 1972.

18. For an elaboration of the metaphor of the school as a service station, see Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE RECOVERY OF RHETORIC

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It is difficult to know where to begin in formulating new directions for the future education of school administrators in this country. A review of the literature suggests, on the one hand, no lack of critical thought in the content and delivery of such programs as they exist in various colleges and universities, as well as in new professional development programs in school districts themselves. After reading the numerous journals and books on the subject, one would think that the authors were on the right track in calling for more research and knowledge, for the development of improved methods in the selection of educational administrators, the content of their programs, and organizational configurations designed to optimize communication between publics of diverse and conflicting persuasions.

On the other hand, it is difficult not to agree with a Rand Corporation evaluator who, as recently as March 1975, stated:

> American education has not been dramatically transformed by efforts at planned change. In fact, despite the diligent and often ingenious efforts of the last years, relatively few things have worked at all![1]

If one of the goals of school administrators is to serve as leaders and catalysts for constructive change in the educational system, then it would seem as if they have not been very successful. Indeed, most administrators are engaged in holding operations of different sorts and have their hands full in just keeping the operation afloat. Whether the administrator can function as an educational leader at all in the modern social milieu is problematic, particularly in the urban setting, given the increased participation of formally organized publics in the decision-making process, the advocacy stance of many school boards, and a bleak economic picture, to name but a few of the many constraints. Accordingly, one cannot help but entertain the pessimistic, but perhaps realistic hypothesis that there is little administrative programs can do but muddle along in present fashion and hope things get better quickly.

As one who has served as a superintendent at all levels of our public educational system and who is currently Dean of a School of Education which has as one of its many functions the education of school administrators, I cannot afford to set forth this hypothesis and maintain what credibility I have as an educational leader. The first thing a person in a leadership position discovers, and rather quickly, I might add, is that he or she simply cannot allow pessimism to take over, no matter how

cogent the rationale or how realistic the verdict. Over the long haul, pessimism leads to cynicism, and cynicism is nothing more than impotence. There are cynics enough in our society, particularly in institutions of higher education and on the staffs of intellectual magazines. They play a critical role in understanding our problems, to be sure; but if analysis is not tempered with realistic hope which looks beyond this veil of tears to a better tomorrow, a society and a culture can only atrophy. History is replete with examples of societies which simply gave up.

At the same time, I am no Polyanna, and I am not presenting this paper to paint a glorious future for school administrators and the programs that provide them with their education. My intent is to set down some impressions of the current state of affairs in education as it relates to administrators and to discuss some ways in which programs of educational administration might respond for the more effective education of practitioners. Since my professional role has been almost entirely that of a practitioner, this paper is not a descriptive survey of graduate programs, a statistical analysis of course content, nor a listing of student and professorial backgrounds. And, if I may be allowed a slight departure from my role as a Dean who, as I understand it, is supposed to be a model of reflective thinking and scholarship, I am following the line taken by Alvin Gouldner, who said:

> I have not felt compelled to inundate (these) pages with a sea of footnotes. If the substance and logic of what I say here does not convince, neither will the conventional rituals of scholarship.[2]

That is not to say that I am disregarding the literature; on the contrary, I have spent a sizable proportion of my time during the past year becoming more familiar with the writings of those who have studied many of the problems of administrators in considerable detail. My perspective, however, comes from countless school board meetings, irate phone calls, civil disturbances, visits to schools, bargaining with teachers, talking to press, and private conversations over late-evening Manhattans in some of the better hotel lounges across the country. I openly admit that I enjoy the role on the part of many professors. Less I be misunderstood, the bias also operates in the reverse: practitioners fail to see the relevancy of much of what goes on in the college or university setting to the tasks they are called upon to perform. This double bias is part of the larger communication problem we face in education, and I will turn to a discussion of it later in the paper.

I have divided my remarks into four parts: First, I want to briefly discuss several important concepts which occur in

talk about educational administration and how I will use such concepts in what follows. In the second part, I will present my impressions of the changing conditions under which the administrator must operate and some of the difficulties with which he or she is faced. Third, I will present what I call a rhetorical model of educational administration. Such a model is original in the sense that it doesn't, to the best of my knowledge, explicitly occur elsewhere in the literature or in ongoing programs; however, it is at least as old as the ancient Greeks who, as it turns out, were full of good ideas. Finally, I will offer some suggestions for incorporating such a model into programs of educational administration at both the university and post-university level. Again, I am not presenting a completely worked-out model of administration or a theory of necessary and sufficient conditions. This is just one man's opinion of the topic we all have come together to discuss. I find it persuasive in terms of my own experiences, and I hope to relate the reasons behind my views in what follows. Indeed, the function of the art of rhetoric is persuasion.

I first want to briefly analyze several important concepts which will be used throughout the remainder of this paper. The first is the distinction between "training" and "education." Many of the most influential persons in the field prefer the former to the latter, as they often speak of "training" educational administrators, or following a "training" model.[3] However, educational philosphers skilled in conceptual analysis point to an important distinction between the two terms. "Training" refers to task-oriented activities which are extrinsic to the person performing them. A welder is "trained" to hold the torch in a certain way, or a dog is "trained" to shake hands upon command. The welder does not value holding the torch for its own sake, but only as it leads to a certain kind of performance. "Education," on the other hand, is an example of an achievement-oriented word which points to activities which have not only extrinsic value (they may not necessarily have these), but intrinsic value as well.[4] Thus the welder who is educated rather than simply trained comes to appreciate his

skill not only for the ends it produces but for the intrinsic worth of the activity it signifies.

This distinction becomes crucial when applied to professional educators. Administrators who are simply trained in applying certain skills may view the activity in question only as a task in which they must be engaged and not something to be achieved by their participation in it. One can follow a recipe and get a cake every time, but a gourmet knows the difference between such a cake and one prepared by an artist who has a personal stake in every cake he bakes. In educational administration we should be educating administrators and not simply training them. There should be a commitment on the part of administration professors and practitioners to what is implicit in the process of administration as well as to what is explicit.

You may well wonder why I even bother to make this distinction. After all, don't we all understand what we mean when we refer to the training of administrators? In one sense this is true, but in another it is not. The situation is much like that of the feminists who counsel us to refer to them as "women" and not as "ladies." Men may think they are communicating when they use the latter term, but the feminists are more concerned, and rightly so, with the quality of that communication than in simply "getting across." They are interested in changing attitudes, which is also what should concern us as we try to improve the quality of our administration programs.

The above distinction between training and educating is closely related to the term "professional." Historically, what we now call the professions had their origins in religion:

> A professional, as I understand it, is supposed to profess, to testify, to bear witness to some sort of faith or confidence or point of view. Traditionally, at least, it was only because he did so that he merited being called a professional.[5]

Today, through a long and complicated historical process,[6] some, but not all, professionals have come to be seen by themselves and others as primarily technicians who apply their professional knowledge which is the basis of their authority. This is the result, I would maintain, of conflating training with educating. In this paper the term "professional" is used in the more comprehensive sense of one who not only applies his knowledge and skills in a particular situation, but who also carries an intrinsic commitment to what is worthwhile in the situation itself, as well as an obligation to profess such a commitment to others. Such an attitude is often present in professors of educational administration, who exhibit an intrinsic commitment to reflective activity in a social setting conducive to studying and teaching. However, the practitioner is faced with the

more difficult problem of professing such a commitment in a volatile field, where political and social realities demand compromise and a continual re-examination of beliefs and attitudes. A deeply committed superintendent may find himself out of a job if his views run counter to those of the community. In such a setting, the term "professional" should refer to an intrinsic attitude of mutual respect, dialogue and honesty rather than a particular program of idealistic--and often unrealistic--goals. This is a point I shall return to in discussing the rhetorical model.

Finally, I want to look more closely at the term "in-service." In one sense most of us know that part of the education of administrators to which this term refers: They are those educational experiences, both formal and informal, that take place after one has completed a prescribed program at a college or university and has taken a position "in the field." This term is often used interchangeably with "continuing" education. Indeed, Lutz and Ferrante[7] state that in sending out a questionnaire on continuing education programs, they used the term "in-service" because they found it communicated the focus of current programs better than "continuing" education. While the former term may communicate, it nevertheless connotes a distinctive break with that part of the educational program located in the university and implies that there is one type of education that goes on within the classroom and another without. While the focus of instruction is probably different in each (should it be?) as such programs are presently constructed, the seamless cloak of learning cannot be so easily separated. What of the practicing principal who works on his doctorate while still maintaining his position? Is he in-service or pre-service? Or, a teacher preparing for credentials authorizing managerial functions may be in-service as a teacher and pre-service as an administrator. These and other examples suggest that the term "in-service" is so vague as to mark nothing significant in the way of quality, quantity or function of educational programs. It also suggests a false dichotomy between pre-service and in-service, while in fact the two are points along the same continuum. For these reasons the term "continuing" education will be used in what follows, or more specifically, continuing professional development. If one wished to carry this to its logical conclusion, even the term "continuing" could be dropped, leaving only "professional development."

In this section I want to share some of my impressions of the changing social, political and economic conditions under which the administrator must operate and some of the difficulties with which he or she is faced. I have gathered these impressions from my own experiences, and it is inevitable that a certain amount of personal bias will creep into what I hope is a realistic assessment of the current state of affairs. However, this does not particularly bother me, as my sole purpose for presenting this paper, as I understand it, is to reflect on an administrative career pattern that has covered a wide range of organizational configurations at the local, state, urban and university level. Consequently, I will engage in the sort of nitty-gritty topography of the administrative scene one often hears verbalized among practitioners gathering after a day of speeches and round-table discussions, and then only late at night. If this approach is offensive to those who wish a more scholarly and objective analysis, I can only reply by noting that the truth, while objective in the sense of reflecting and adhering to lived and shared experience, is seldom neutral.

I begin with an observation which is probably shared by even the most casual observer of the educational scene in our larger cities, and perhaps in many of the smaller communities as well: The superintendent is not really the chief executive any more. It might be more correct to say that he is still the chief executive when something has gone wrong and the blame must correspondingly be affixed; but in the day-to-day operation, and especially in policy and administrative decisions that branch out to affect a diverse spectrum of publics, his voice is but one of many that speak of leadership and direction in the educational sector. The result is usually a cacophony of sound in which it is difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff.

But if the superintendent is not the chief executive any more, then who is? The answer is another of those inscrutable paradoxes that make life both frustrating and interesting: everybody and nobody. Everyone wants a larger piece of the decision-making pie, but no one wants to take responsibility for its taste or texture. Nor is this situation confined exclusively to administration. It is also found in teacher education, law, medicine, architecture, politics, civil service, business and other walks of life. Persons who function in leadership positions in our society are finding that it is no longer enough to offer equal opportunity; people demand equal results as well. Accordingly, there is a growing feeling that people are becoming

ungovernable and that they are no longer content to let others run the show while continually making a mess of it. There is an increasing distrust of government at all levels and a corresponding de-emphasis upon education as the magic cure-all for individual and societal ills. Not only does the urban superintendent have to contend with a recalcitrant school board, angry teachers, vocal parents, apathetic students and a nagging press, but he also has to face his new secretary, who has her B.A. in physics, could not find a creative job, and has decided that making coffee is not one of her duties.

This state of affairs is the result of many complex and interrelated factors which I could not even begin to explicate here. However, I do want to mention some of the more salient ones as they relate to the social flux in which the educational administrator must operate. The first is the changing organizational climate in which the educational system functions. It used to be the case that transactions were largely initiated and controlled by the educational system itself. Practitioners thought that education was essentially nonpolitical and that it operated within a closed, self-contained structure. I doubt that this was ever the case, but prior to the social turmoil of the 1960s, the illusion was at least easier to maintain. I can recall one of the standard administration textbooks of the 1950s. Each chapter began with a pencil sketch of a well-groomed superintendent or principal beaming down at children who looked like they lived in Dick and Jane books, or else the administrators were smiling and shaking hands with cooperative and, of course, lily white school board members. The administrator <u>was</u> a professional then; he <u>was</u> in charge, or so the story goes.

Today, what was once a placid environment has become a turbulent one. People are <u>formally</u> organized into organizations that branch out horizontally as well as vertically, and they impinge on each other in a web of relationships that is extremely difficult to unravel. I remember assuming the state superintendency in Delaware after serving as superintendent of a white community in Ohio. Nothing in my educational experiences had prepared me for the parade of organizations that filed through my office, each with its own goals and purpose, each with strong constituative support and legislative lobbies. When I went to Milwaukee, nothing in my formal educational experiences had prepared me for leaving my office with a police escort; no one told me that school board members often placed petty politics above educational concerns.

I only wish to make the following point: Much of the education of school administrators had only the slightest correlation with reality. It is problematic whether any program could have foreseen the events of the 60's and beyond, but there is a certain intellectual myopia in university professors that often excludes any critical penetration outside their own chosen specialty into the wilderness of practice. I found out about school administration through experience, and I will readily

admit that I have been luckier than most. However, that does not deter from what I think is still a glaring omission in many programs of educational administration, which is the lack of reality-oriented materials. I will return to this point when I discuss changes in the content and delivery of programs.

A second factor which has contributed to the administrator's inability to function effectively in his role is society's attitude toward professionals generally. This deserves a more critical look than most of us have given it. It seems to me that a very strong case can be made for the view that professional training (and I am using that term as I originally defined it) and the production of knowledge (research) have displaced liberal culture as the main business of the university. The humanities have declined in importance in relation to the sciences and to the social or behavioral sciences, which have become increasingly quantitative in their approach. But while the universities have been producing more professionals, more technicians, and more refined forms of exact knowledge, the lower schools have been sinking under the weight of bureaucracy, chronic fiscal crisis and the need to tailor education to industrial needs. Thus we have extensive testing and tracking which, it seems to me, have widened the gap between college-preparatory courses and the commercial or technical ones, resulting in the lower reputation of the latter, no matter how we try to "dress" it up. The formulation of our educational programs has been the result of what we refer to as "rational assessment" rather than established customs or beliefs; it is all part of th view that, essentially, science and technology can save us.

However, this view does not seem to be shared by the masses, who perceive the United States as a stratified society run by the intellectuals and the rich. Intellectuals, of course, resist the first part of this perception, since it is not their own perception that they run things. Yet the popular view becomes more intelligible when one considers that many Americans do not distinguish between intellectuals and commentators, men in long white coats testing cars or selling aspirin, or school administrators with Ph.D's and elaborate cost-accounting systems. I am of the opinion that what we refer to as the lower middle class does not live for the constant promotion and upward mobility we foster in our educational system, and this makes them resistant to the fluid, dynamic, and highly mobile urban society which we experience as distinctively modern.

This attitude toward professionals (and I am using that term in its loosest sense) is expressed through the many publics an urban school administrator must deal with and also through the modern school board. That the school board should share this perception is especially ironic, since many board members

are professionals themselves. However, they are supposedly serving as representatives of the larger community, and as such they voice the familiar charge that education is too important to be left to educators. Accordingly, they come to dabble in administrative matters and decisions that were once the domain of the professional.

To illustrate the current attitude toward professionals on the part of the board, I can recall the very recent example of a new urban superintendent who, as one of his first acts, enlisted the service of two university professors to help both him and the board in the process of establishing goals and directions for the school system. This would seem like a very rational thing to do, and the cost was under two hundred dollars. Yet the response was predictable: The superintendent was publicly reprimanded by the board for his actions; he was told in no uncertain terms that the school system didn't need any experts telling them what to do. Professionals are often seen as outsiders by the community. They breeze in and they breeze out, and lately none are moving through with as much velocity as the beleaguered superintendent.

I do not want to dwell on the subject of school boards, since they are not the chief subject of this paper. However, most school administrators have strong feelings in this area, and I am no exception. A recent Gallup Poll on the subject shows that the majority of the public have no idea what their school boards are doing, and seem to care even less. If this is true, then one wonders how representative of their constituents board members really are. The turn-over rate in many boards is extremely high, and it should come as no surprise that some use the school board as a vehicle for their own political aspirations. The superintendent, as it sometimes turns out, is often in the way, and what professional expertise he brings to the educational situation can quickly be discarded in favor of power politics and in-house games. Given such a situation in many of our major urban centers, I doubt whether any superintendent could provide effective leadership. That is a pessimistic assessment, but,frankly, I believe it is accurate.

Given the propositions that more and more persons are formally organized to compete for limited resources and services and that the reputation of the professional has been subsumed beneath anti-intellectualism and the more expedient matters of power politics and economic considerations, it is easy to deduce a third proposition: The school administrator can no longer exercise effective leadership because he lacks an adequate power base. It is no longer true that the superintendent can count on the support of the teachers or, in some cases, even his own staff. Everyone now has their own unions, their own goals, and their own lobbies. When the superintendent speaks, he is often presenting one view while the teachers are presenting another. At

the same time, the superintendent cannot count on the support of the board or the community for reasons I have touched on above. Consequently, the means for educational change he has at his disposal are severely limited, no matter what his intentions might be. Let's face the facts: The urban superintendent is usually transient and upward mobile. He considers himself an educated professional with a task to perform and is change-oriented. He usually arrives on the scene following the dismissal of the previous superintendent who has had harsh words with the board, teachers, the staff, parents, or all of them together. The situation is an extremely volatile one, and the battle lines have been drawn long before the new administrator arrives. There are a number of skills the administrator can apply to improve the situation, and I will deal with these shortly. But it takes an extremely competent and gifted person to compensate for the administrator's present lack of support on all fronts. It takes time to develop an adequate power base, a commodity which seems to be in short supply these days. As a result, the administrator is condemned before he has a chance to begin. He ends up with responsibility for failure but without the needed support to achieve success.

This situation for school administrators is complicated by another factor: Education is no longer the high-growth industry it once was.[8] We see that the rate of growth has been reduced markedly, and in many settings we see an absolute decline in the number of students. Budgets continue to rise, but without an increase in productivity. At the same time, management begins to age. Persons are locked into place by a lack of professional opportunities. Unless there are actions taken to sustain a higher rate of management turnover, we can expect to see a gradual aging of administrators at most levels over the next decade or so.

With fewer chances for advancement, fewer resources and fewer occasions for success, one wonders how high the commitment level on the part of administrators will be. When speculation along these lines is coupled with the corresponding fact of an oversupply of credentialed administrators, one cannot be too sanguine about managerial vitality. In such a situation, many would-be administrators end up doing different things, which reduces enthusiasm and increases pressure for more administrative superstructure in order to provide career opportunities. One could subsequently hypothesize that the rate of bureaucratic reorganization is positively correlated with the rate of decline in education.

In this section I have painted a picture of chaos and uncertainty surrounding the modern school administrator. He operates in an environment in which more people are formally organized to compete for fewer resources in an unstable economic situation. Education takes a back seat to the more pressing

problems of urban decay, unemployment, inflation and the environment. He also operates in a social context in which the role of the professional is greeted with cynicism, suspicion and doubt, coupled with the growing tendency of school boards and other groups, such as teachers' unions and civic organizations, to seek a larger input into the decision-making process and even the day-to-day operation of the school system. Finally, the administrator operates in the context of decline. There are fewer dollars for increased costs of operation, and there are fewer opportunities for professional advancement, especially for the large number of qualified young men and women emerging from our graduate programs. My listing, of course, does not exhaust the complicated variables that mitigate the effectiveness of the school administrator, and there are subtleties of argument and historical interpretation that I have not even begun to touch on here. However, the conditions I have mentioned seem to me to be among the more salient ones, and we ought to take them into consideration when asking ourselves what kind of programs the university and college ought to be engaged in for the education of school administrators in the future.

III.

In the turbulent context I have just described, there is the ideology of administration. March describes this ideology as follows:

> If there is a problem there is a solution. If there is a solution it can be discovered by analysis, and implemented by skill in interpersonal relations or organizational design. The solution to the problem requires the identification of underlying causes, and the discovery and implementation of solutions are duties of the administraotr. If a problem persists, it is due to inadequacy in an administrator's will, perception of problems, analysis, skill with people, or knowledge of organizations. Inadequacies in an administrator can be corrected through proper administrative training.[9]

As March goes on to note, these beliefs are attractive. They comprise a "faith of hope." However, the existence of a problem does not necessarily imply the existence of a solution. Many solutions could never be implemented, no matter what the organizational design nor how skillful in human relations the administrator might be. In short, problems often persist for reasons that have nothing to do with the administrator, and many administrative inadequacies are immune to correction through education.

Such a view suggests that we should be somewhat pessimistic about great drama, but more optimistic about making marginal improvements that are perceptible and within the limits of reality. Accordingly, I preface this section by noting that my approach will not solve the world's problems, and that those who are looking for scientific breakthroughs and wondrous techniques should seek elsewhere. I am primarily interested in changing attitudes and in encouraging people to act intelligently. This precedes any solution to a problem, no matter how sophisticated the approach.

As I look back on my own administrative experiences, I note that there was one common ingredient in all of them: Rhetoric. In fact, I cannot think of a single situation in which human beings are engaged that does not involve rhetoric. Even in my own interior dialogues with myself, I am practicing rhetoric. The scientist, too, practices rhetoric when he begins to talk about his experiments and ideas with others, as he must inevitably do. In this context I am defining rhetoric as a method of directing and focusing techniques and principles to the specific end of affecting audience attitudes, ideas and behavior. As such, it is a practical rather than a fine art. It is the power of observing the means of persuasion on almost any subject open to us, and it is not concerned with any definite class of subjects, even though it may encompass several of these in various combinations.

It may come as a surprise for many to hear rhetoric defined in this way. After all, the common notion of rhetoric is often reducible to the idea of "hot air," which is seen in such phrases as the "rhetoric of politicians," or the "rhetoric of administrators." In this view, rhetoric is seen as stylized speech, eloquent phrases, and fast talk that is essentially content-free. It is something to be avoided, and it is inferior to the analytic talk of scientists and philosophers (some philosophers, that is). In fact, one wonders how intelligent talk could ever succeed in being heard above the roar and rabble of everyday communication, in which the mass media, with their instant news and insidious advertising, are the chief progenitors of content-free communication. Theirs is a special kind of communication, for it is almost entirely one-way.

There are historical reasons for the degredation of rhetoric in our culture, and because it is not my intent to present a scholarly analysis of the subject, I will only refer my audience to sources that give rhetoric the critical attention it deserves.[10] Here I only want to give a very general outline as to how a theory of rhetoric might serve as a series of organizing principles for educational administration. My view is simply that since we all engage in rhetoric, we might as well learn to do it well. That is, since administrators must seek to persuade a wide variety of audiences on a wide variety of subjects regarding education, they should be skilled in the techniques employed. Administrators communicate with their publics in many different ways, but there is no such thing as a good administrator who does not communicate. This is the point from which we must begin if our programs are to make sense.

What I am preserving from the traditional rhetoric, which was conceived by the Greeks as a practical art -- a dialectic -- and the counterpart of analytical thinking used for the purposes of demonstration, is the idea of audience. This idea is immediately evoked by the thought of giving a speech, but it also applies to everything written as well. Whereas a speech is conceived in terms of the audience, the physical absence of his readers can lead a writer to believe that he is alone in the world, though his text is always conditioned, whether consciously or unconsciously, by those persons he wishes to address. The audience can be the person himself, in which case the person is engaging in a dialogue with his alter ego for the purposes of persuasion regarding some course of action; one other person, in which instance the speaker, or rhetor, seeks to persuade through the means of dialogue; or two or more persons who may or may not be formally organized into groups, sub-groups, etc. The rhetoric may be a formal speech or written document, or it may be an informal dialogue between persons of similar or divergent points of view. In any case, someone is seeking to persuade someone else about something.

From the general idea of audience, I deduce my first principle: Know your audience. For the administrator, this simply means that he must be thoroughly acquainted with the publics he confronts and be able to adapt his discourse accordingly. If there is any lesson I have learned as a school administrator it is that the psychological, sociological, political and economic descriptors of the audience one is dealing with have to be taken into consideration if effective strategy for the implementation of desired goals is to be planned accordingly. For example, it was helpful for me to have been acquainted with some of the characteristics of superintendents across the state of Delaware and their past relationships with the State Department of Public Instruction in planning some of initial moves upon assuming the state superintendency. The superintendents had supported one of their own people for the position, and since I was an outsider being brought in from

a white suburban community, their positive reaction to my initial communication was important if I were to build a solid base of support.

One of the most crucial audiences an administrator must deal with is the school board itself, and here some type of useful knowledge is often of a more personal nature. I can recall one board member who was known for having a few drinks before meetings and then becoming quite vocal and recalcitrant on even the most routine matters. As the meeting wore on, his posture became less rigid, and eventually he quieted down altogether. In this situation we often adopted the rather effective tactic of moving some of the more controversial issues toward the end of the agenda after the noise level had died down. Some would call this administration by attrition; however, since our management team found it almost impossible to reach closure in the early part of the meetings, it seemed like the logical course of action to follow.

Indeed, I could probably fill a book with examples of this type, and were I to do so I have no doubt that some professors would accuse me of corrupting elegant theories of administration with a grab-bag of "dirty tricks". In this instance I would only point out that an administrator does not have to violate legal and moral principles to engage in strategies of persuasion. We do make judgments on what is good or bad, and we hope to attain honest, just and rational decisions on actions to initiate. But even though I don't steal files and make recordings of personal conversations with staff or board members, I still argue for a certain point-of-view and seek the most effective way of making an impact. My "logic-in-use" is a combination of formal and informal education, past experiences, habits, dispositions, family, the social and political scene, and a host of other things. Hopefully, it is a good fit with the "reconstructed logic" of educational philosophers and administrative theorists, and this is what I hope I have internalized as a professional stance. I think that if I were to put down some of the stories and circumstance surrounding tactics deployed to achieve some desired end, it would read more like a novel than an administrative textbook. Perhaps that is what we need more of in our programs.

It is thus obvious that the idea of audience also encompasses the idea of self, or in a theory of rhetoric, the rhetor. He is the speaker, the writer, the persuader. He has intentions and tasks. Not only must he have knowledge about the audience, but he must also have knowledge about himself. From this we can deduce a second principle: Know thyself. This was the cardinal rule of Socrates and the Greeks, and it is just as relevant today as it was then. One has to have knowledge of actions, truth and belief. He has to have qualitative, performative and praxiological knowledge as well as cognitive, and he must be able to justify his actions and values to himself and others.

For the administrator or anybody else who is functioning as a persuader, there is a sub-principle, which is being comfortable with one's self. If a person is not at ease with himself, he will not foster this inclination in others, no matter how sophisticated his technique. I should, however, add a qualification. One cannot be too comfortable with one's self. This can lead to complacency and a smug satisfaction or conceit. Though self-knowledge is realized through critical and constant self-examination, the internal dialogue cannot become so intense as to limit a person's ability to act. The mix of "vigilant rest" I am describing is never a single moment or a final culmination of years of experience; it is rather a process which is never-ending.

Self-knowledge also includes a critical discernment of the roles one plays in social organizations. The administrator is many things: a superintendent, a principal, a republican, a congregationalist, a civic leader, a black, a man, a woman, etc. He or she is a member of an administrative team, a community group, or a national organization. But the administrator should first and foremost be a professional. If he does not possess professional competencies and attitudes, then he might as well not even come into the office. Others may view the administrator as a representative of a particular class or group, and oftentimes he or she reacts as a black, as a republican or as a woman. Roles can often become confused in this process, resulting in an identity crisis that deters the person's ability to exercise effective leadership. This is also true for the exterior as well as the interior audience. An administrator should realize that a member of a particular group will probably act one way with those of similar characteristics or persuasions and another way in a different setting. There are multiple audiences and multiple settings, and the effective administrator knows how to forge connections between them.

Besides the rhetor and audience, there is a third component of a rhetorical situation: the discourse, or what I refer to as content. Obviously, one should have something to say. There is one sense in which we can say that all communication has content, but that is not the sense I am thinking of here. Besides a purely quantitative dimension, discourse should have a qualitative dimension as well, as this implies the existence of norms and standards. Educational ends and means should be consistent with these in encompassing the broadest sense of the term "rational;" one must consider the ethical implications of his actions as well as the purely logical ones. Content, after all, is not derived in a vacuum, and the form it takes cannot help but determine to a greater or lesser degree the effect it will have on a particular audience.

The content that I would prescribe for a school administrator falls into several distinct areas. The first is general

educational knowledge. Here I would include a concentration of foundation courses such as the history, philosophy, sociology, psychology and politics of education, and,to a lesser extent, some knowledge of curriculum. The chief administrator is usually surrounded by persons who have expertise in some specific educational area, and if he is to effectively manage the formulation of goals and the deployment of resources, he should have enough general knowledge of a specific area to know whether the expert he is managing is competent, or whether enough information is available for the formulation of an adequate decision. I am not of the opinion that an administrator has to also be a teacher, but at the same time I would think that knowledge of the classroom would help the administrator to understand some of the problems and real frustrations of others in the school system.

Under a second general heading I would include knowledge of economics and law. The importance of economics to administration -- in fact, to most aspects of our modern culture -- can hardly be doubted. Unfortunately, it seems to me that the subject is often presented at a technical level far removed from everyday concerns and in a language that is hard to communicate to others who lack specialized knowledge. Consequently, I would rather see economics presented in a broader philosophical framework in which the legal, moral, social, and political implications of supply and demand were related to educational issues. It is not enough for the administrator to understand the property tax or the salary schedules of teachers; he must also see how these relate to economic fluctuations in the private sector, government policies, and even economic problems in other parts of the world.

At the same time, many of the questions the administrator must deal with have been formulated in a complex web of legal relationships with which he should be familiar. I can't imagine a modern urban superintendent not knowing about the Serrano decision, or not realizing the consequences of the latest legal hassles over busing. The administrator cannot expect to refer all legal questions to a lawyer; his knowledge of the law must be adequate enough to define the parameters of his domain and to carefully prepare for the winds of change that will be blowing his way. Too often we leave legal questions to the "experts," without availing ourselves of the predictive and interpretive power of the law to the administrative domain.

A third content area is that of history. As a young man I can recall that I was more interested in finding a job and "doing" something than in reading history or even historical novels. Today I find myself much more interested in the interpretation of the past and how it speaks to our present condition, and I regret that I do not have more time for reading. It is true that when an administrator is immersed in his tasks there is often little opportunity for moments of quiet reflection or for consulting works on the past that could conceivably

shed some light of current difficulties. To paraphrase the philosopher Santayana, those who don't know history are doomed to repeat it, and upon a reading of the history of public education in this country as it relates to our economic devleopment, I am virtually amazed at the degree to which modern educational questions were foretold one hundred years ago. History adds perspective. As one grows older and undergoes more experiences, he views the past differently; a novel or a work of history read at forty is often an entirely different experience from reading the same book at twenty.

A fourth content area relates to the area of organizational management and long-range planning. Management information systems, PPBS, and organizational design are just a few of the topics that would fall in this general category. As these occur in most programs and have been thoroughly discussed in much of the literature on administration, I will not dwell on them here. I would note, however, that such content is often taught in administrative courses as if they were necessary and sufficient for the successful practitioner. They have a tendency to be seen as ends in themselves rather than as some effective means to the more efficient ordering of information and experience. This refers back to my distinction between training and education. The skills we acquire in administrative programs should be integrated into a larger, more liberal framework. Successful administration is more than a set of techniques and specialized knowledge; it is also a set of interrelated and coherent attitudes, which, when it is good, approaches the status of art. Art, however, is never arbitrary, even though it operates in the realm between the possible and impossible.

The content areas I have mentioned do not exhaust the wide variety of subjects the school administrator must deal with in his position, and if I had the time I could go into much greater detail than the present opportunity affords. Yet it should now be apparent that the type of education I am really talking about is a liberal one. The practice of educational administration, when it is well done, is really a renaissance activity. Practicing administrators, when they are good, are good amateur psychologists, good amateur economists, good amateur politicians, historians and other things. They must be generalists who, through a rigorous liberal education, have come to internalize those attitudes and habits of critical reflection, inner strength and compassion that separate the leader from the mere technician. However, it is probably true that it is difficult to get a true liberal education in today's modern university, where much of the liberal arts have become introductory courses for subject area specialization. That is why I think schools of education should support a penetrating and comprehensive reform of liberal education. If colleagues in the arts college are either unwilling or unable to undertake such reform, we may have

to do what some engineering shcools had to do -- that is, set up search and screen committees to employ philosophers, scientists, and other scholars who are willing and able to provide liberal education as a part of professional preparation. In fact, I would even go so far as to say that it might be a good idea to spread the liberal education throughout a person's career, arranging some of the credits and courses for a time when the practitioner can bring a richer set of experiences to the subject matter than just those of a youthful idealist. It is a truism that much of education is wasted on the young.

What I have described so far as a theory of rhetoric for administration is cognitive-analytical knowledge of audience, content, and self. But since rhetoric is for the explicit purpose of persuasion, knowledge must be utilized through skillful action. The administrator's willingness to trade knowledge of the elegance of a detailed part of the administrative domain for the more eclectic and generalized whole is born of the necessity to act, and since there are many more discrete situations for action than there are theories, it is imperative that the practitioner know how to get his point across.

This will involve the closely interrelated concepts of timing and readiness. If an audience is not ready for a particular program or idea,the speaker will stand little chance of success, no matter how skillful his presentation or argument. I can recall situations in which a superintendent left his job in dismay after being rebuffed by the board or teachers for his proposals and actions, only to see the same ideas in operation a year later. To gauge the readiness of any particular audience is a skill born of experience and subtle knowledge of human behavior; an administrator must learn to test the waters very carefully before he commits himself to jumping in. Many times an audience will express its readiness for a certain proposal or course of action only to reject it upon presentation. Because of uncertainties involved, I have always followed the course of "touching base" with key members of certain audiences before initiating actions or proposals. I also look at the past history of similar ideas and how they have fared in the community and elsewhere.

Closely associated with readiness is timing. Even though a particular audience may be found receptive to a certain idea, bad timing can quickly turn the situation around. An example of poor timing would be to request higher administrative salaries while teachers were out on strike. The folly of this might seem obvious, but any experienced administrator knows how easily the obvious can slip by without the slightest trace of recognition. The professional school administrator must know when to push and when to back off. His analysis of the organizational, social, economic and psychological climate must lead him to a careful orchestration of the score he is presenting. A conductor knows that if the theme of his symphony is a grand and majestic idea, it is often good strategy to let the violins play soothing

melodies before bringing in the brass and drums. It is thus the total mix and effect the administrator must know, and not just one part.

In all of this it goes without saying that the rhetoric I am referring to is content-laden rather than content-free. It is not "hot air," but is cogent and skillful argumentation applied to specific experiences and audiences. The administrator as a person worthy of this type of rhetoric must also be a moral person who has internalized a professional stance built upon higher and more inclusive rational standards. This does not commit one to some technical language or rigid scientific posture, but it does imply a consistency and coherency of action, attitude and belief derived from what is most enduring in our culture. It may be objected, however, that this is only empty rhetoric of noble ends which glosses over the sneaky means used to achieve them. As such it is more reminiscent of politics than education, and education, as the popular saying goes,is above politics. To this criticism I can only reply that education and the setting in which it occurs is part of a very political process, though it should also be much more than this. I am simply saying that since the administrator is in the thick of the push and pull of complex organizations, goals and beliefs, he may as well learn to function effectively. We can all talk of empty rhetoric, which to a large degree is a product of our mass culture. But we still cannot deny that rhetoric -- as I have defined it -- is an essential part of our social life. Its three essential principles -- know the audience, know the content, know thyself -- provide a solid foundation on which to build more effective programs for the education of school administrators.

IV.

In this last section I want to briefly talk about our present programs as they occur in colleges and universities and ways in which they might be improved through a rhetorical model. Again, I must note that these remarks are only general and are not to be taken as exhaustive on an extremely complex subject.

If they stimulate further discussion and inquiry, then their purpose will have been served.

A good place to begin is with recruitment. Traditionally, the school administrator has come up through the ranks and has been well socialized into the educational system. Additionally, it should come as no surprise that 98.7 percent of school superintendents are white males. What is surprising is that over 75 percent were coaches![11] I will not speculate here on what these statistics mean, except to point out that running a school system is nothing like coaching. For one thing, the rules are ambiguous and often hidden beneath the surface. However, I do want to point out that there is entirely too much "inbreeding" in the educational system. It is amazing how much alike professors of educational administration are and how complacent they seem to be in their programs. They have been content to educate teachers to become principals, principals to become superintendents, and seldom look outside the educational system for dynamic, young talent. Rest assured that it's out there -- it simply isn't coming into educational administration. It is a pluralistic environment in which the administrator must attempt to measure loss and gain, and it is somewhat ironic that he (seldom she) is educated in a homogeneous setting with people who usually think and act as he does. Thus conformity and the avoidance of risk-taking set in before the program even begins.

My first suggestion is to recruit persons from outside of education, especially people who have been identified as possessing uncommon leadership potential. This has been attempted before, but not on the scale it deserves.[12] Along these lines I am reminded of a young black woman who worked as a teacher's aide while I was in Milwaukee. She possessed only a high school diploma, but she had a dynamism and eloquence that I have seldom seen matched in persons who are certified to serve in managerial positions. People naturally gravitated toward this woman and were surprised to hear that she had never been to college. It is this type of person we should be trying to attract into educational administration. We should not necessarily be looking for brilliant people, rule-followers, teachers, or those who remind us of us, even though these persons may turn out to be excellent administrators. We should rather make a concerted effort to select people from other disciplines or walks of life than simply education, and we should have the funds and professional opportunities to make their participation worthwhile for them. This also suggests a reconsideration of degree and credential requirements. Too often these serve the interests of existing programs and self-satisfied administrators rather than those of effective educational leadership.

Given that we have selected competent individuals with leadership potential, what type of content should we offer them in our preparation programs? The answer to this question requires us to ask another: What type of internal and external organizational structure does our school of education have, and can it provide the diverse educational experiences that we think are necessary? Most schools of education are organized into departments, program areas and divisions, each with its own "territory," professional jargon, national organization, etc. Not only is it the case that many professors of administration do not know what is going on in the real world outside--they don't even know what is going on one floor above them. That, however, is another story.

What I am suggesting is the possibility of internal as well as external change. In considering the functions of a school of education, particularly the continuing professional development of administrators (remember that I am not distinguishing between pre-service and in-service education), those many internal and external publics must first have access to an adequate data base to know, from a school-wide perspective, what resources can be brought to bear on a specific problem (in our case, the education of school administrators), and what changes can actually be effected. An adequate information system thus includes detailed knowledge of programs, students, faculty and support personnel, facilities, finance and publics if one is to plan intelligently. This is difficult under an organizational design which widens the gap between school programs and needs and those of a particular department rather than narrowing it.

An alternative might be to organize program areas into larger and more reasonable clusters. The criteria for such an ordering would depend on the particular school of education in question. Parallel to this would be divisions along the lines of specific functions from a school-wide perspective, such as teacher education, continuing professional development, etc. The design and implementation of a continuing professional development program for administrators would than rest not exclusively with departments of educational administration, but rather those departments working in a synergistic relationship with (1) a director of professional development, who would have quick access to a school-wide data base and knowledge of human and technical resources from the entire school that could augment the department of administration, and (2) the many publics outside the school of education (including the rest of the university) who would have an interest in such a program, be affected by any changes that might accrue, or be able to contribute in some valuable way. As it presently stands, departments of educational administration design and implement programs without an adequate knowledge of school-wide resources

that might increase the effectiveness of their services. Under a more coordinated mix, a professor of administration would still have a "home" in a department or program area, but his functions might also include working with other faculty members from various departments both within and without the school of education whose expertise would be of significant value for the education of administrators. This could work the other way as well. Professors of administration might be called on to contribute to problems of research and service in areas outside their traditional domain, such as teacher education or curriculum. Either way, the goal is to increase the school's total effectiveness in meeting the needs of its publics through a synergistic organizational structure that encourages mutual interdependence and support among what are now often discrete and fragmented departments, as well as the external groups that impinge upon the school.

Now that we have redesigned the school of education, we can turn to content and delivery. I would begin with a rigorous liberal arts component beyond that normally offered to undergraduates, concentrating on economics (particularly macroeconomics), history (particularly twentieth-century American history), sociology (particularly sociology of organizations) and psychology (particularly social psychology). I would also include a rigorous political science component, particularly an analysis of urban and state political science component, particularly an analysis of urban and state politics. A listing of courses such as these is not in itself innovative; however, instead of offering them through separate disciplines, they could conceivably be synthesized through a common liberal arts core component offered through a center for the professional development of all administrators, whether they were in education, government or business. This center could be staffed by rotation, with each professor teaching his specialty through an administrative perspective. This would at least approach an interdisciplinary program rather than an intradisciplinary one; in the latter the courses are fragmented without a common perspective. Synthesizing, if it is to be accomplished, is usually some vague responsibility of the student. In the kind of liberal arts component I am thinking of, the focus would be on an analysis of current social and political problems from a variety of perspectives, but each tied directly to the tasks of leadership and persuasion.

A second component would include the development of analytical skills. March has identified five such skills: the analysis of expertise, or the management of knowledge; the analysis of coalitions, or the management of conflict; the analysis of ambiguity, or the management of goals; the analysis of time, or the management of attention; and the analysis of information, or the management of inference.[13] March provides an intelligent discussion of these skills, so I will not dwell on them here. It should be obvious, however, that they are directly related to the liberal arts component I have just described. Whereas the liberal arts component can supply the administrator with the cognitive-analytical knowledge of the

wider setting in which he or she operates, the analytical skills can provide part of the performative knowledge that can be utilized in concrete instances of experience. Readiness and timing are, of course, an integral part of these skills. It would, therefore, seem appropriate that such analytical skills be incorporated into that portion of the program that occurs in the university and especially that part of the program we have described as continuing education. In the latter the admfnistrator can see the applicability of the skills to situations in which he or she is presently involved. It should also be apparent that, as it presently stands, many professors of educational administration do not possess sufficient expertise in these skills compared to, say business professors. Either administration professors will have to acquire the requisite knowledge, or else this portion of the program will have to be staffed outside the school of education.

A third component would include that content explicit in the administrator's tasks as educational manager. This might encompass school law, school finance, long-range planning (particularly systems analysis), management information systems, PPBS, etc. Directly related to these are core courses in educational history, philosophy and curriculum. Again, there is no reason to suppose that such courses ought to be limited to the university setting; a course in long-range planning would have considerably more impact applied to situations with which administrators were actually dealing instead of functioning as an academic exercise.

A fourth component would be rhetoric itself. Up to this point I have described the cognitive and analytical knowledge necessary for the administrator to gauge the dispositions, attitudes and other variables of the audience and the setting in which the communication is taking place, as well as that knowledge necessary for the successful discharge of his duties. Yet knowledge has to be communicated if it is to have any positive effect; thus the school administrator must become a master communicator. This involves skills in critical listening, writing, speaking and thinking. The first three are often found in rhetorical courses at the more advanced level; unfortunately, they are mostly offered through departments of speech or English as discrete bodies of subject matter open to critical examination. I would rather see rhetoric offered as an intergal part of the administrator's preparation from a practical standpoint; the purpose of the instruction would be to present an analysis of different types of arguments and the most effective ways of presenting them to identifiable audiences. For example, take the case of presenting educational data to audiences who know nothing of statistics, surveys or the technical language of researchers. Furthermore, suppose that some of these audiences are positively hostile to the idea of data and professional "jargon." A skilled communicator would thoroughly understand

the constraints and plan accordingly. He would learn how to interpret the data so that it could be presented in a non-threatening manner; he would accentuate the general conclusions of the data and how they contribute to the more effective utilization of educational resources instead of dwelling on methodology and numbers. There are, of course, any number of strategies the administrator might employ, and all of them would fall under our modern interpretation of rhetoric. At the same time, the administrator has to know how to engage in critical thinking, especially that part of communication that takes place in intersubjective exchanges and leads to certain conclusions. An analysis of arguments is vital if the administrator is to know how to present one; too often in our preparation programs we fill the student's head with discrete bodies of inert knowledge instead of subjecting the arguments on which such knowledge was derived to critical examination. Indiana University, for example, offers a course in "Concepts and Arguments in Education" which, according to administration students who have taken it, has proven to be of considerable value in increasing their ability to analyze the parameters of administrative settings, audiences and decisions.

A fifth and final component of an adequate preparation program for educational administrators is that which occurs in the field. This easily encompasses enough material for another paper, and as I find I am approaching my limit, I will not comment on field preparation in any great detail.[14] I will only state here that a more clinical approach needs to be taken in educational administration. Rather than put a person through two or three years of isolated university work and then give him a degree, the field experience ought to begin in the first year, and the delivery of knowledge and skills ought to continue well into the practitioner's career. Indeed, I doubt if the successful administrator ever reaches a point where he or she cannot profit from learning experiences arranged in a disciplined fashion. Also implicit in the field experiences is not only increased knowledge of content and audience, but self knowledge as well. It is amazing how much one learns about one's self when he is faced with constant pressure and a pluralistic environment that almost defies analysis. I, for one, advocate fewer academic courses in "human relations" and more concrete administrative experiences, especially in a volatile and "disturbed" field.

In conclusion, I hope that my audience has received the impression that I advocate making the preparation of educational administrators much more of a rigorous exercise than is presently the case. Simply put, it is much too easy to become credentialed as a school administrator, which is probably why there is an oversupply of mediocre persons in the field. I want to tighten our approach on all fronts, but I especially want to get away from the idea that all we have to do is to develop

more knowledge and then fill the student's head with it. A theory of rhetoric applied to administration gives us some organizing principles which we can apply to the knowledge which we already have (and I would maintain that we do have adequate knowledge) and then learn to use it for the explicit purpose of persuasion. We should be developing the interpretive abilities of administrators to the point where they are able to critically sift through what now appears as isolated bodies of information and skills and learn what does and does not apply to some particular situation with which they are dealing.

In short, we are living in a world of rhetoric, and it is becoming louder and more disorganized all the time. If there is to be more to leadership than just "hot air," and if there is to be more to educational progress than just a spinning of organizational and political gears, then there has to be the real opportunity for critical dialogue which moves both vertically and horizontally toward a more rational approach to shared responsibility and shared decision-making. But before there can be critical dialogue, there have to be persons educated to know what it means, how to recognize it, how to use it, and how to foster it in others. That is why I advocate the recovery of rhetoric in educational administration, and I hope this paper will encourage others to make some moves toward that end.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dale Mann, "An Introduction to the Rand Corporation's Study of the Change Agent Programs Sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education," in the Rand Corporation, "The Field Evaluation of Programs for Educational Change," a symposium at the Annual Meeting of the Educational Research Association, Washington, D. C., March 31, 1975, p. 2.

2. Alvin Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. viii.

3. One who does this consistently is James G. March in "Analytical Skills and the University Training of Educational Administrators," Journal of Educational Administration, XII, No. 1, May, 1974.

4. For a more careful and precise formulation of these terms, as well as a conceptual analysis of education itself, see R. S. Peters, Ethics and Education (New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1966).

5. P. Palmer, "Professions in the Seventies," Church Society for College Work, March, 1973, p. 2. Quoted in Chris Argyis and Donald Schön, Theory in Practice: Increasing Professional Effectiveness (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974), p. 146.

6. See Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society (New York: Knopf, 1964).

7. Frank W. Lutz and R. Ferrante, Emergent Practices in the Continuing Education of School Administrators, University Council for Educational Administration, 1972.

8. The rationale behind this observation and its effects on administration are more thoroughly discussed in James G. March, op. cit., pp. 19-23.

9. Ibid., p. 18.

10. See, for example, Chaim Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), and A. Craig Baird, Rhetoric: A Philosophical Inquiry (New York: Ronald Press, 1965), among others.

11. John Merrow, Richard Foster and Nolan Estes, The Urban School Superintendent of the Future (Durant, Oklahoma: Southeastern Foundation, 1974), p. 23.

12. See Robert T. Stout, New Approaches to Recruitment and Selection of Educational Administrators (Eric/CEM-UCEA Series of Administrator Preparation, 1973).

13. March, op. cit., p. 28.

14. I have commented elsewhere on the content, delivery, and design of programs for practicing administrators in the field. See Richard P. Cousha and Roger A. Hughes, "Professional Development: A Position Paper," presented at the 29th Annual National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana, August 17-22, 1975.

MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT FOR SCHOOL PRINCIPALS: A NATIONAL PRIORITY

James R. Tanner

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The interest of the federal government in education has been focused upon expanding and changing educational services for the nation's children and youth.

Presumably the federal intent is related to both immediate impact and continuing influence of program thrusts initiated with government financial support. Up to now the main targets have been in instructional and curricular aspects of schooling.

Federal program grant provisions usually expect applicant agencies to indicate how effective practices initiated through federal support will be incorporated into the continuing operations of the particular school systems. Not only do school systems hesitate to give complete advance assurance of program institutionalization because of financial considerations, they are hampered, also, in offering such assurances because of the insufficient skills of school managers in long term planning.

Projects supported under provisions of ESEA Title III are developed as exemplary approaches and are expected to represent new elements of school programming. The record of lasting change impact of Title III projects could certainly be more impressive if local school administrators had more understanding of the change process and greater skill in its management.

Most federally subsidized programs in local education agencies call for participation by affected citizens in designing, implementing, and evaluating the programs.

This requirement seems to be based upon presumed competencies among school administrators in such areas as information processing, planning, evaluation, and resource allocation.

The goal of federal participation in elementary and secondary education is the viable school. Such a school possesses institutional maturity, the capability to gauge the need for change, and to implement change where needed. Such a goal is doubtless shared by officials of local schools.

Up to now efforts to achieve the desired viability have been focused upon the instructional content of schooling--new teaching strategies, new curriculum materials and processes, different ways

to organize pupils for instruction, provisions for special services to neglected groups of pupils, and the recruitment and preparation of new kinds of instructional personnel.

Now needed at the federal level is increased attention to the educational delivery system, the processes and organizational features which support the substantive aspects of schooling. Management, the set of activities that energize an institution and make it possible for the institution to move toward its service goals, is a most logical first priority target of attempts to enhance the organization's effectiveness. Moreover, the relatively recent emergence and convergence of a complex of social, economic, and political factors surrounding schools and calling for new kinds of school responsiveness underscore the need for attention not only to the substantive content and processes of education, but also to its organization and governance.

The news coverage of school openings in each recent year has told of strikes and work stoppages, delaying the resumption of schooling for millions of children and youth. In elections throughout the nation citizens have been rejecting more school tax levies and bond issues than would have been thought possible until about the mid 1960's.

The demands of students, parents, and community groups for more effective schooling have been accelerating. The issues of racial segregation and integration touching every section of the nation threaten to divide citizens in their relations to schools.

The courts have made far-reaching education decisions on questions of due process and equal protection in areas of pupil rights, the financing of schools, the availability of schooling for special groups of pupils, and other aspects of school affairs whose handling have traditionally been left to school officials and boards of education.

School administrators have few precedents in such matters to guide them and with a background of training that concentrated on instruction and instructional leadership have found themselves disadvantaged in attempts to cope with the storms that have raged about them.

For school administrators to be able to exercise the kind of sophisticated leadership required now and into the future, special management development thrusts are urgently needed.

An increased emphasis on educational management development is certainly not just a good thing to have, it is essential to the success of both federal and non-federal school improvement efforts. Such an emphasis makes good sense, both philosophically and economically.

The wise use of educational resources and their proper deployment can only be accomplished through the prudent application of skillful administrative and leadership techniques. The necessary techniques sustained by sound theoretical grounding are accessible through carefully planned and implemented management development. The capability for carrying out effective management development is now available. In our present urgent situation federal leadership and participation are both desirable and essential.

There has been a recent history of federal involvement in educational personnel training.

During the nearly twenty-year period since the enactment of the National Defense Education Act the United States government has expended millions of dollars in support of efforts to improve the competencies of educational personnel. For elementary and secondary schools most of this expenditure has gone into various teacher training programs. Only a proportionately small investment has been made in upgrading the skills of persons responsible for the administration of the nation's educational systems.

This is probably due partly to the federal intent to make significant impact at the point of teacher-pupil contact. Beyond this the limited attention to administrator training is due to a perceived non-scarcity of available administrative personnel. More basic, though, has been the view of school administrators as chief teachers with a few added, relatively unimportant housekeeping chores.

Such a view has been widely shared both inside and outside the school establishment. The inadequacy of this view is obvious to any observer of educational affairs and needs no further elaboration. The issue is how and where can the necessary corrective thrust be started.

New mechanisms are probably not necessary in order for the federal government to lead and support the efforts to improve school management. Different program standards and components may be required.

This paper deals with the school principalship as the most appropriate target to school reform or change through management

development. The role of the principalship as a management position is explicated. The functions and activities of principals are examined. The content of a program for principal management development is identified and criteria for the organization of the program are presented.

Minimum preparatory effort is needed for the United States Office of Education to implement a program anticipated in this paper.

Immediate action is possible and is recommended. Looking at the long term the federal education agencies, the U.S. Office of Education, and the National Institute for Education should undertake immediately an analysis in depth of the need and potential for the remainder of this century. The analysis should be followed by encouragement to educational institutions at all levels to develop and carry out collaborative management development projects varying in participant coverage from single kinds of administrators to teams.

As for the present, the Office of Education is equipped and has legislative authority to support management development. Three currently possible actions are recommended for immediate consideration and implementation. It is recommended that (1) guidelines and standards for federally subsidized school programs make explicit provision for optional management development components and provide for financial support of such components; some percentage, perhaps five or ten, should be set aside at the U.S.O.E. level for management development efforts; (2) discretionary funds provided in various federal education appropriations be made available for school management development activities for upgrading the skills of present school administrators, as well as for developing managerial competencies among other school personnel identified as good candidates for administrative posts; (3) provision be made by appropriate U.S.O.E. program area for management development. Institutes on a regional basis for local education agency administrators in whose schools federally related programs are now being operated.

We are a knowledge-based society. The growth and improvement potential of the society are found not in our hardware but in the minds of men. This is a society where education is critical, not only to growth but to survival. The continuous improvement and regeneration of educational capabilities are essential. In the education enterprise itself strengthening of its management and sharpening of the skills of its managerial personnel offer the vital key to success, effectiveness, and humaneness.

Toward Viability for the School

In the fall of 1973 the Administration and Supervision National Field Task Force on the Improvement and Reform of American Education recommended to the United States Office of Education that support be given to programs to train school principals.

The position of the Task Force was "that most significant changes occur in schools either through administrator initiative or at the very least through administrator legitimation. Very few changes of any impact can take place in schools without the involvement of the administrator. Since the unit where the most productive change efforts can be carried out is the individual school, the local administrator, the principal, and other administrators with whom he interacts constitute the highest priority target as an entry point in educational reform."[1]

The Task Force saw its responsibility as identifying the need for specialized leadership training for principals and urging that provision be made for meeting the need.[2]

As a goal the group proposed the development of the principals' capabilities as "reform stimulators, action research leaders, more effective managers."[3]

This paper represents the attempt by the chairman of the Task Force to propose in fairly broad outline an approach to leadership development for school principals consistent with the viewpoint of the Task Force. I am indebted to my colleagues on the Task Force for their contributions individually and as a group in clarifying the concept of school reform. Accountability for the content of the present effort must, of course, be mine and I apologize to "task forcers" who may see in this work any violence to the precepts in which we concurred during several months of delightful, productive work.

The importance of the principal's role in school affairs has been amply demonstrated by scholars and researchers in school administration dating at least to Cubberly (1923). "The knowledge, insight, tact, skill, and qualities of helpful professional leadership of the principal of the school practically determine the ideas and standards of achievement of both teachers and pupils within the school."[4]

Other, more recent informed observers of school affairs whose research and opinion corroborate the judgment regarding the significance of the principal's functioning include Hemphill and his associates,[5] Sarason,[6] Trump,[7] Gross and Herriott,[8] Klopf,[9] Goldman,[10] and Smith and Orlosky.[11] Further appeal to authority in seeking to validate the idea would be an exercise in superfluity.

The principalship is the key role in school effectiveness, or its lack. Therefore, efforts to enhance the effectiveness of schools must involve concern for improving, or where appropriate, maintaining the level of principals' performance. In this connection it is appropriate to distinguish between effectiveness and efficiency because of the tendency to consider them synonymous.

Drucker clarifies the distinction between the two terms. "Efficiency is concerned with doing things right. Effectiveness is doing the right things."[12]

It is important, of course, to work efficiently, that is to produce intended results with the minimum feasible input of energy and other resources. The issue, though, is not just attaining results but achieving results in appropriate endeavors.

As Drucker points out "effectiveness is the foundation of success--efficiency is a minimum condition for survival <u>after</u> success has been achieved."[13]

The school principal will be successful to the degree to which he identifies the appropriate activities and tasks and carries them out with the minimum feasible input of energy and consumption of the available resources.

The first priority duty of the principal is to choose the right things to do. After having made right choices, he should strive for efficiency in doing what needs to be done.

Any consideration of the training of school principals (or of any other group of practitioners) must include discussions of (1) the content and context of the principalship: what the principalship is, what the principal should do--to, for, and with whom, with what intention and under what circumstances; and (2) the substance and organization of the training program: what disciplines it should involve, what experiences should be included, how it should be conducted, and by whom.

The Role of the Principal

Efforts to identify the appropriate facets of the role of the principal have consisted mainly of surveys which asked principals to list their activities and to show the discrepancy between what they would like to do and the actual division of their time in carrying out their responsibilities. Such studies have usually shown that principals are spending what they regard as an inordinate amount of time on tasks that they regard as less important than some other activities that they would like to be doing.

Examples of this approach are the studies of Melton in 1958 and 1968 and of Stanavage in 1971.

Melton's studies showed that principals regarded curriculum and instructional leadership as the most important aspect of their role. Included in this category were philosophical and psychological theories, program supervision, and curriculum improvement. In terms of ideal time allotment, principals in both survey groups ranked curriculum and instructional leadership as a facet of their work that should consume almost twice as much of their time as any other.[14]

During the 1970-71 school year the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools surveyed principals of its affiliated secondary schools to determine, among other information, the priority assigned by principals to various functions. Predictably the results show that the responding administrators by a wide margin consider educational leadership, including such activities as improvement of instruction, program and curriculum development, and stimulation of change, to be the most important facet of their role. The other three types of functions listed in the survey are general school administration, general school management, and crisis management.

While these results provide some idea of the principal's role perception, it would, of course, have been more revealing if the participants had been asked to indicate their proportionate time use in carrying out the various functions.

In another aspect of the survey, the principals identified as their gravest problems (1) the proliferation of demands upon the principal's time and energies and (2) the difficulty encountered in attempting to effect school change.[15]

As part of an effort to determine in-service development needs of principals in the Cleveland, Ohio, Public Schools, a survey was conducted in May, 1972. The survey collected reactions related to the principals' points of view regarding (1) tasks which principals perform that they believe are appropriate administrative functions of the principal, (2) tasks that they find most difficult to perform, and (3) tasks that they believe could be performed better.

In the results of the survey two items appear in the top six in all three categories:

> determining the quality of teaching being performed, and communicating to staff members their professional strengths and weaknesses.

Their comments regarding these tasks show that their perceptions of quality determination and staff communication regarding strengths and weaknesses conform to the classical classroom visitation-supervision-evaluation model.

Further study of the results shows that principals believe that their most important tasks involve faculty relationships and, in general, that while some of the tasks are difficult, the primary problem is one of finding time to perform these most important and satisfying tasks. Their comments suggest that one of the main reasons that time is short is that principals must spend considerable time on external relationships with parents and community groups. Running through the survey results is the principals' desire to concentrate on internal rather than external relationships, together with some resentment toward factors which frustrate their desires.

One item noticeably low among the appropriate tasks was analyzing demographic trends of the community to project future school needs. Fewer than 50% of the principals regard that as appropriate in the role of the principal.[16]

The history of the principalship continues to be a major determinant of perceptions of the ideal role. The principalship in American education has evolved from the position of principal teacher and headmaster. The role has been slow to change. In the beginning the teacher thought to be the best teacher in the school was elevated to the position of principal teacher or headmaster.

Development of the principalship has been accretive in that it has feature the addition of functions which the principal is expected to perform.

In the early days the principal teacher's administrative tasks included, among others, upkeep of the school building, keeping school records, punishing misbehaving pupils, and instructing poorly trained teachers in the craft of pedagogy. Early in the twentieth century the principal became a much more important leader of the educational establishment, but with little training for carrying out the functions of leadership.

The idea of the head of the school as first a teacher has persisted so that almost universally "successful" teaching experience is a prerequisite to becoming a principal.

Probably as a result of this historical circumstance and the resultant limitations which have precluded a broadening of the base or the content of educational administrator preparation, school administrators have continued to perceive educational leadership narrowly and often have overly concentrated their concerns on the affairs of the classroom.

From the 1920's until the present there has been stress on the supervisory role of principal. The view of the principal as primarily a supervisor of instruction has persisted widely just about as Cubberly described it in 1923. He referred to supervision as "the one supreme duty" of the elementary school principal. He recommended that the principal "must reduce his office work and economize his time, that he may be found as much as possible during school hours in the classrooms of his school."[17]

"Instructional leadership" has come to be used increasingly in place of "supervision," quite probably because of the punitive connotation of the latter term. The function has remained largely unchanged, though.

Instructional leadership or supervision is viewed as more "professional" than the duties historically identified in education with administration or management and hence more desirable.

Erickson, in reflecting on the view of the principal as a supervisor, pointed out in 1964 concerning the "ancient and hallowed conception of the principal as instructional leader," that the "good principal was a sort of 'super teacher,' expected to sally in and out of classrooms like some charismatic general, dropping a suggestion here, correcting a foible there, using the magic of his pedagogic know-how to spur the flagging spirits of his troops."[18]

The widespread arrested development of the principalship in its evolution from head teachership, in the judgment of the writer,

has been one of the major reasons for the slowness of schools to respond to the need for change. Particularly is this the case when the principal views himself as personally having to perform all the duties and functions that have accrued to the principalship.

Closely related to historical antecedents in determining the idealized role of the school principal has been the way in which most principals have been prepared for their jobs.

The continuing view of the principal as an instructional leader is attributable in large measure to the training programs necessary for certification (licensing) for the principalship.

Not only do principals perceive their role primarily as instructional leadership, their trainers largely share that perception.

Approximately 80% of professors in graduate departments of educational administration participating in a survey (1972) conducted under auspices of the National Association of Secondary School Principals are reported to consider that secondary school principals should devote the greatest part of their in-school time working with teachers to improve instruction and that they should teach teachers how to conceptualize, plan, and implement instructional change.[19]

Traditionally graduate programs for those planning to become school administrators have consisted of textbook bound, non-sequential lecture courses, frequently with only coincidental substantive relationship to each other, except for repetition of content from one course to another.

The program (or should it be called a program?) typically is constructed in terms of course titles and course credits rather than with relation to specific competencies.

In a few universities an internship is required and in some, such an experience is optional. Internships vary in quality from carefully planned and well-conducted, specific goal-oriented programs providing for competency demonstration to those where the intern simply "sits at the elbow" of a current administrator learning whatever he can glean.

It is not surprising that, in view of the traditional conception of the principal as mainly an instructional leader, other facets of the role are neglected in the training of prospective principals.

Moreover, only in the relatively brief period since World War II has there been any significant attention to administrative theory in the preparation of school administrators. Prior to that time courses in school administration dealt with details of school organization, usually in recipe fashion--how to construct schedules, how to supervise teachers, how to perform pupil accounting and assignment tasks, how to deal with the P.T.A., how to report pupil progress, staffing formulas, extra curricular activity planning, record keeping, and other similar matters.

The principalship as it has been idealized in practice and in training might well be described as a clonal descendant of the principal teacher or headmaster minimally affected by the changing milieu in which principals have functioned.

Traditionally descriptions of the principalship have been based on the notion that heading an elementary school is a field of endeavor distinctively separate and different from administering a secondary school. The fact is that at all levels within the administrative hierarchy of schools the administrative processes are the same, though certain tasks will be performed more frequently at one level than at others.

Knezevich holds that "a different degree of information concerning the substantive problems and the nature of the learner at various levels seems to be the only fundamental differentiation among types of administrators."[20]

With special reference to principals, Griffiths and his associates concluded that the responsibilities are the same at both elementary and secondary levels with such differences as there are being differences of degree, not kind.[21]

The Principalship As a Special Class of Management

The principal should be considered an executive, responsible for the organization and operation of a school. The role includes oversight of the program and activities of the school unit and entails the judicious exercise of the authority vested in the position by law, by regulation, by policy, and by tradition. In the urban school the principal as the head of the individual school is accountable to the superintendent either directly or through intermediate officials for translating into action the educational and procedural policies established for the governance and operation of schools in the particular school system.

Appropriately the school should be organized by and operated under the direction of the principal in such a way that (1) an

effective educational program is made available and accessible to the pupils enrolled; (2) there is continuous appraisal of the program in terms of evolving needs and available resources; and (3) needed changes can be made in the program with minimum disruption to the learning progress of the pupils.

The principal is responsible for the management of the school. That is, he is the manager of relations, of time utilization, and of resource utilization.

For purposes of this discussion, the definition of management offered by Haimann and Scott is appropriate.

"Management is a social and technical process which utilizes resources, influences human action, and facilitates changes in order to accomplish organization goals."[22]

In this definition both social and technical aspects are significant. The deliberate inclusion of the social dimension demonstrates the importance of people and interpersonal relations in the conduct of the affairs of the modern institution.

The importance of the activities of people as a concern of management is particularly highlighted in Brech's definition--

> "A social process entailing responsibility for the effective and economical planning and regulation of the operations of an enterprise, in fulfillment of the given purpose or task, such responsibility involving
>
> a. judgment and decision in determining plans and the development of data procedures to assist control of performance and progress against plans; and
>
> b. the guidance, integration, motivation, and supervision of the personnel comprising the enterprise and carrying out its operations."[23]

If the principalship is viewed as management in terms of these definitions, a concept of management which recognizes the process as social and which includes responsibility for the facilitation of change seems consonant with, if not synonymous with, the notion of democratic leadership as discussed by Hunt and Pierce.[24]

The principal who is right for today's urban school is one who exercises educational leadership through the application of sound judgment and through the fullest practicable participation of members of the institution in the decisionmaking and decision implementation processes.

Much of the writing and discussion about school leadership continues to reveal the persistence of the failure of principals and their trainers to accept as appropriate the several facets of the role. In addition to an over-emphasis on the principal's role as supervisor, evaluator, and instructional expert, there continues to be an inveighing against the principal as a manager and an accompanying yearning for something characterized as educational leadership.

The continued resistance to the concept of the school principalship as management is probably attributable in large part to an image of management as exploitive, as dealing with "things" at a higher priority than with persons, as concerned almost exclusively with efficiency and "administrivia."

Upon examination the educational leadership envisioned in such calls to the battlements frequently is, in reality, the principalship in the power status attained during the first quarter of the twentieth century, a period not particularly noted for educational change and progress, except possibly for the spread of secondary schools.

These grasps for the millenium feature an attempt to "clean up" the principalship either by excision of some aspects perceived as detractive or distractive or by the expansion of the role in a kind of Parkinsonian approach.

The fact is that financial limitations of school systems preclude the expansion of the principalship by the addition of numerous functionaries to the administrative staff. Neither will ignoring or rejecting certain necessary though unglamorous activities contribute to the effectiveness of the school.

To continue to cling to old notions of the principalship is to reveal an unawareness or a denial of the context in which schools must operate.

In a 1967 presentation to the Annual Meeting of the North Central Association, Romine listed a number of factors which influence the principal's role. Several of the factors he identified continue to have relevance at this time, eight years later. The only influence within the educational establishment which he listed as significant in 1967 whose relevance has been diminished

is collegiate competition for teachers. The other items which have remained pertinent are centralism in education, increasing innovation and specialization, new characteristics and attitudes of teachers and pupils, the spread of collective bargaining and negotiations, the av lability of increased administrative sophistication, and the size and complexity of schools.

Crucial influences outside the school which have impact on schools and their operation include

"1. population explosion, implosion, and mobility
2. social and moral conflict, change, and improvement
3. rising educational costs and taxation
4. higher educational expectations."[25]

As Boyer indicates, until recently the prevailing assumption was "that the public school system operated in a kind of automatic Newtonian fashion, practically without human intervention." But as he aptly states all this has changed and today "Education finds itself involved in contemporary life....The 'knowledge explosion' has changed curriculum and teaching patterns drastically....More people are in schools for longer and longer periods of time...with a corresponding rise in the money spent for education....At the same time the social, economic, ethnic mix has broadened...and young people themselves have changed physiologically and psychologically....The range of resources and techniques available has also enlarged enormously, while learning has spread beyond the individual campus or school....Education is called on to play a crucial role in achieving society's goals."[26]

McNally in a quite insightful discussion of the principalship holds that the "supervision-centered conception of the principalship has become inappropriate and outdated, particularly in large metropolitan and centralized rural schools."[27] His analysis is similar to that of Knezevich who concludes that "The principalship is /or should be/ changing due, in large part, to the pressures on society in general and on education in particular. The increasing pressure on the school to assume a more dynamic role in the amelioration of social injustices, the greater militancy and professionalization of teachers, the increased specialization of teachers, and the growing complexity of all educational institutions are modifying the nature of the principalship."[28]

"The principal," McNally says, "cannot pretend to the omniscience and competence in all areas that would be required for him to act as the didactic supervisor" of all the evolving teacher and specialist roles in the school staff. He will "use the prerogatives

of his position to 'zero in' the specialist who is professionally trained to provide the specific kind of assistance that the teacher requires."[29]

Furthermore, as Knezevich points out, "neither pride nor desire to be considered an autonomous unit is a good reason for depriving a teacher of the services of a special-subject consultant."[30]

The complexity of school and schooling, the rapidly developing technology available to education, the vast increase and the dazzling rate of increase in knowledge and information, the interrelatedness and interdependence of schools and other social agencies, the accumulating body of law and regulation, the rising levels of sophistication regarding school among the general populace, the spreading calls for accountability--all these factors together with the need for greater attention to human values clearly call for a response capability on the part of school officials that exceeds either merely authoritarian leadership or leadership simply by recipe even though the leaders are men and women of inspiration and good will.

It further is insufficient to base the role of the principal on those activities which principals like to perform. The issue is not what principals want to do but rather what needs to be done.

There is no intent here to suggest that the school is not primarily and most importantly an educational institution with pupil learning as its main objective and with teaching as the chief means of attaining that objective.

It is precisely because of an interest in improving the effectiveness and, where possible, the efficiency of learning and teaching that there is a need to examine critically traditional ideas about school leadership and to look beyond the confines of traditional conceptions for help in meeting the needs of schools for today and the years to come.

The nature of the principalship in each school is a major determinant in the quality of the school's program.

Significant change in the principal's role and in perceptions of that role among principals will be accomplished largely through training and retraining. The likelihood of change will be greatly enhanced if the training of prospective principals and the continued training and retraining of current principals is based upon the broad view of the principalship as a position of executive leadership, as McNally's "perceptive generalist."[31]

Management Defined

In establishing a framework for the identification and analysis of the work of school administration, Knezevich lists eight questions which would confront those responsible for the operation of any type of organization.

1. What is to be done?
2. How will the work be divided?
3. How will it be done?
4. Who will do the work?
5. What will it be done with?
6. When will the work be done?
7. How well should the work be done?
8. How well is the work being done?

He concludes that the universal tasks of management become evident in the search for solutions to these questions, suggesting that administration in any organization would be concerned with answers to all the questions, while various operating or service components of the organization would each focus attention on one or several. An over-arching view of the organization and responsibility for the functioning of the organization as a whole are characteristics which distinguish administration and set it apart as a specialty.[32]

The elements of management have been identified in studies dating to the early years of the twentieth century.

In this paper the selection of management functions is based upon the work of Haimann and Scott who conclude that management is a system of interrelated processes which can be separated conceptually for analysis but which are inseparable in the actual work situation of administration. As they point out, the administrator performs the management functions in variable sequences and with differing time uses.[33]

Management consists of the following interdependent processes:

planning--gathering information; establishing relevant goals and objectives; identifying strategies and tactics; setting performance standards.

organizing--defining individual jobs and establishing relationships among them. Coordination and the exercise and delegation of authority are key concepts in the organizing function.

staffing--the selection, placement, and development of those who perform the work of the institution.

influencing--exercise of leadership in motivating employees to attain the objectives of the institution while experiencing personal satisfaction.

controlling--activities which determine whether and in what ways the goals and objectives of the institution are met. Establishing performance criteria, monitoring and appraising performance; instituting necessary corrective action are the classes of activities which constitute controlling.

In this framework of management, decisionmaking and communication are emphasized as interrelated "linking devices" which bind the managerial functions.[34] In carrying out each and all of the major functions of management, it is necessary to reach judgments about persons, events, materials, and ideas and to make choices among alternative courses of action. This represents decision-making.

A decision having been made is only useful when it reaches those whose decisions and actions are affected by it. This is the purpose for communication--the exchange of information--among the people who are employed by the particular institution and between the institution and its clientele.

Clearly the success and effectiveness of an institution are determined largely by the quality of its decisionmaking and its communication network and the relationship between the two.

In a discussion of the similarities between management in business and education, Carter seeks to superimpose the categories of management in business upon school administration. In doing so he relates the administrative responsibilities in schools to the successful operation of business in the areas of personnel, finance, production, and processes. With operational examples he illustrates similarities and differences. He emphasizes the pervasive functions of organizing and planning in both business and education.[35]

The basic functions of administration or management (planning, organizing, staffing, influencing, controlling) are applicable in all institutions. As Sears pointed out, however, the similarity of administrative functions among various types of institutions should not conceal the existence of differences.[36] Haimann and Scott indicate that, although management processes are universal, management skills are less transferable.[37]

In designing the principalship it is inappropriate to do so on the basis of examples of positions in management outside education. Models are seldom replicable except as between situations in which the analogy is based on a degree of preciseness that is not possible when comparing the school with other institutions.

Models are valuable in human affairs principally as the source of guidelines and basic principles. Consequently, there is no attempt here to see the school principal as like the department store manager, or the factory superintendent, or the newspaper managing editor, or the hospital administrator, or the manager of a public utility, or the head of any other kind of organization, except, of course, in the sense that the genre of institutional head entails the acceptance of responsibility and authority for the orderly and effective operation of the institution. Beyond that the school principalship bears some resemblance to certain other institution heads, in that, for example, the school and some other institutions are primarily service related, have limited options in client selection,depend upon restricted and specific sources of revenue, are labor-intensive in budget outlays, are staffed with positions for which extensive special pre-employment training is required, and are units of a heirarchial organization.

Graff and Street identify several conditions under which schools operate that require school administration to have a distinctive character. These include the institutional uniqueness of schools; the requirement that schools be responsible to the needs of all other community institutions; directness of the relationship of the school to the people; the school as an arena for conflict and mediation among diverse values; and the intimacy of the interaction between the school and its immediate clientele (students).[38]

Another way of distinguishing school administration in the larger field of administration is to compare the school with other types of institutions with respect to factors such as cruciality to society, public visibility and sensitivity, complexity of function, intimacy of necessary relations, staff professionalization and difficulty of appraisal. Such an analysis as developed by Campbell, Corbally, and Ramseyer indicates, for example, that the school is more crucial to society than a ping pong ball factory; has less complex functions than a psychiatric clinic; has a staff less highly trained than a college; presents more difficulty in appraisal than a sales organization, but less than a church.[39]

It seems clear that school administration requires special skills and procedures in pursuing its central purpose of enhancing learning and teaching and is a special class of management.

The Responsibilities of the Principal

The work of the principal can be classified into various categories both for convenience in description and for clarity. The following outline is a way of presenting such a classification based on our concept of the principalship as a special class of management:

1. Developing and Implementing the Educational Program

   a. Organizing the school for instruction (establishing and clarifying role relationships) (establishing the operational framework)

   b. Curriculum development (goal setting, planning learning experiences, allocating resources)

   c. Program supervision, including instructional material, equipment and supply procurement and allocation

   d. Program evaluation

2. Instructional Staff Development

   a. Teacher and related staff placement, assignment, transfer

   b. Orientation

   c. Evaluation, retention, dismissal

   d. Selection

   e. In-service growth

   f. Establishment and maintenance of wholesome school climate, in line with sound labor relations principles

3. School Community Relations

   a. Identifying the school community and the various constituencies and agencies

   b. Communication with school clientele (students, parents, other citizens) (interpreting the school)

c. Gauging community educational interests and support

d. Developing community interest and support for responsive educational programs

e. Interpreting the community to school staff

4. Supportive Services and Programs

a. Pupil personnel services

b. Finance and fiscal record keeping and reporting

c. School plant maintenance

d. Auxiliary services (food service, health, pupil transportation)

e. School office management

5. Relation of the School to the School System

a. Interpretation of policy procedures and data, including union agreements

b. Representation, interpretation, and advocacy of the school

c. Identification and utilization of available personnel, material and services

d. Articulation, horizontal and vertical (pupil and staff placement and transfer) (program development)

e. Referral and appeal

To attempt to rank the functions or classes of functions in order of importance is to seek frustration and would indicate a serious lack of understanding of the nature of schools and schooling and their place in society.

These classes of activities are interrelated and interdependent. None may be slighted if the school is expected to be effective in promoting pupil learning and development.

Moreover it is an exercise in futility to attempt to divide the principal's time in some idealized proportion among the classes of duties. Schools differ in size, in pupil population, in staff specialization, training and competency, in community acceptance and support, in available resources, in organizational pattern, and in program specialization. All these factors in whatever combination they may be present in a given school are determinants of the use of administrative time and energy. In addition it could be demonstrated that such conditions as the weather and the season affect the time use of school personnel.

To allay somewhat the apprehension of those who see responsibility for activities as entailing the duty personally to perform all the activities, it should be stated that in our concept of administration (or management) the administrator "is directly responsible not for performing the work of an organization, but for attending to its performance."[40]

The rule of reason should prevail in the principal's scheduling and planning of his activities.

"The principal in a public school, whether at the elementary or secondary level, is a counselor of students, the school disciplinarian, the organizer of the schedule, the supervisor of the instructional program, the pupil relations representative for the attendance area, the liaison between teachers and the superintendent, the director and evaluator of teaching efforts, the manager of the school facilities, the supervisor of custodial and food service employees within the building, and a professional leader."[41]

Campbell, Corbally, and Ramseyer characterize the principal as an organizer, a communicator, an instructional leader, and a line officer.[42]

In discussing the elementary school principalship, Hicks has identified eleven aspects of the role, pointing out that the effective principal must be able to exemplify the appropriate facet as varying situations require. The principal, according to Hicks, is the executive of the school, a coordinator, motivator, expert, advisor, mediator, interpreter, supervisor, evaluator, demonstrator, example and advocate, and educational prophet.[43]

While this listing of role facets is presented by Hicks with regard to the work of the elementary school principal, it seems pertinent for the principalship at any level.

An additional role of the principalship is that of the diagnostician as described by Lippitt, who points to the manager's need to be able to identify causes of inadequate or inefficient performance.[44]

In discharging his responsibilities the principal engages in many activities. He works primarily with people, with ideas, and with things. He makes, or causes to be made, decisions about pupils individually, about pupils in groups within the school, and about the total pupil population in the school as a group. He interviews; explains; inquires; leads group discussions; makes formal speeches, reports and gives other presentations; observes behavior; gives directions; participates in group discussions; writes letters, directives, memoranda; conducts meetings; negotiates. Activities such as these consume the major part of the principal's time and energy. How effectively he performs such tasks largely determines his success as a principal.

Certainly he does other things. He reads; computes; prepares reports and other documents. He inspects and examines materials and facilities. He drafts plans. He reflects.

Another way of looking at the work of the principal as a manager is provided by Zaleznik in his discussion of managerial behavior. He categorizes these behaviors as homeostatic, mediative, and proactive.[45] In this conception homeostatic operations are those related to maintaining the internal stability of the organization. (The principal orients new teachers or new students regarding the traditions and expectations of the school, implying the desirability of conformance. The principal referees a dispute between members of the faculty in such a way that both parties accept the results and no real change in operation is made.)

Mediative functions are those performed by the manager in response to external stimuli where some change or adaptation of internal operations may result. (The principal establishes a committee to plan a modification of the class schedule because employers of students need the student workers at an earlier time during the day. The principal invites parents to serve as tutors and in other volunteer roles in response to requests for more active parental involvement in the school.)

In behaving proactively the manager seeks to have impact on the environment as well as to change the organization internally. This type of behavior is innovative. (The principal instigates changing the high school from a college preparatory school to one that is comprehensive, offering a full range of curriculum options, in an effort to reduce dropouts. The principal insists upon his school

instituting bi-lingual instruction so as to retain non-English speaking families in the neighborhood.)

Still another way of classifying the functions of management is that offered by Mackenzie. He suggests that since management deals with ideas, things, and people, the functions of management can be classified as conceptual thinking, administration, and leadership. He claims that although the functions of management can be divided into the three categories, there are certain continuous requirements for effective performance: problem analysis, decisionmaking, and communication. This is not unlike Haimann and Scott's notion that decisionmaking and communication are the processes that cement the organization together.[46]

In summary, the effective principal of a school at any level--elementary or secondary--is a manager of that school with responsibility for its orderly operation, the continuing evaluation of the programs, and the implementation of changes where needed. He develops strategies and plans; he assigns and coordinates personnel, delegating authority as appropriate; he influences performance by providing incentive and direction; he monitors and appraises staff performance and other aspects of organizational progress, and institutes corrective action.

Permeating these activities are diagnosis of problems and situations, decisionmaking and communication.

The work of management in any organization involves assuring that the basic work of the organization is carried out. While the functions of management are generalizable across organizations, specific classes of organization require specific applications of the functions consistent with the purposes of the organization.

The work of management in the school, then, is to see that the school operates satisfactory educational programs, that the staffing patterns and relationships are appropriate, that the school provide needed supportive services and programs, and that the school relates effectively both to the school system of which it is a part and to the community which it serves.

Training for the Principalship

Many professional persons in education feel that training suggests a kind of mechanical skill development, stressing the psychomotor domain rather than the cognitive, when the latter is thought to be of a higher order. The use of training here is in the sense of the dictionary definition "to make proficient with specialized instruction and practice." The word education

is deliberately not used here because of that term's more comprehensive meaning. Our attention is on those aspects of the principal's education which are intended to make the person who undergoes the instruction more proficient in the performance of certain definite tasks. Hence training seems appropriate. Clearly the desired proficiency development entails cognition.

The training of the principal should be competency related, with the needed competency goals specified in considerable detail. This is not to imply that behavioral objectives in the sense of performance assessment would constitute all the criteria for determining competency of the trainee. How, for example, does one measure in performance a person's knowledge of various educational laws except in the actual situation where the knowledge is required?

The question of who should become a principal is unsettled. There is, and should be, a degree of self selection by those interested. As to prerequisite experience, that too remains an unresolved issue. Many consider teaching experience essential. Actually there is too little empirical evidence in this area. The field is at the hypothesis stage and considerably more testing of the idea is needed before we can state with assurance that a certain amount and kind of teaching or other experience is the proper base upon which to build for the principalship. At this time, though, in the interest of credibility among other school personnel, some teaching experience is probably a desirable part of the qualifications for entering the principalship.

The Content of the Principalship Training

As shown earlier, principals seem to feel that the most important facet of their role is instructional leadership. This impression is probably due to their familiarity with the traditional "super-teacher" perception as idealized in much of the literature and most of the training they have received.

There are indications that principals are coming to accept their role as more broadly conceived and, while they may intellectually wish to deny the importance of what have been known as administrative or community relations duties, their experience indicates to them the interrelation of the various categories of duties.

In a survey of urban and suburban principals in the St. Louis, Missouri, area, Unruh found that the secondary school principals felt the need for training programs to include in priority order

the study of various aspects of administration; historical, philosophical, and theoretical foundations of education; supervision and curriculum development; counseling and guidance; educational psychology and related fields; research methods and statistics; and educational technology.[47]

In the Cleveland survey mentioned previously, the seven tasks which were identified as appropriate by 90% more of the principals responding included the following:

--Enlisting faculty support for desirable changes in the school
--Identifying possible solutions for staff morale problems
--Inducting new staff smoothly into the operation
--Identifying staff members to whom authority can be delegated
--Creating a democratic climate

These five are in addition to the two listed earlier:

--Determining the quality of teaching being performed
--Communicating to staff members their professional strengths and weaknesses.[48]

Haroldson found that principals need competency in human relations and communications, and that as teachers gain more competence in their respective fields, the principal needs more skill as a facilitator and less as the expert teacher. Other special competencies identified by Haroldson relate to the principal's ability to encourage self improvement among other staff members and to delegate tasks which others should more appropriately perform.[49]

Kramer determined that elementary principals feel the need for training in leadership skills in helping teachers to develop more effective teaching approaches and deal more effectively with differences in children; in using various needs assessment and goal setting techniques, and in improving staff morale and performance.[50]

Goldman's listing of selected competencies needed by principals identifies the following:

"1. Understanding the teaching and learning process and being able to contribute to its development.

2. Understanding school organization and being able to lead and coordinate the activities of the highly trained professional personnel who comprise this organization.

3. Understanding the nature and the composition of the local school-community and being able to maintain satisfactory relationships between the school and its many community groups.

4. Understanding the technical aspects of school administration (e.g., school building maintenance, management functions, and the like) and being able to obtain and allocate resources in an effective and efficient manner.

5. Understanding the change process and being able to bring about necessary and appropriate changes in school and society.

6. Understanding various cultures and being able to plan and implement programs which will meet the unique needs of each culture in the school.

7. Understanding and being able to use the findings of relevant research."[51]

To fulfill the need for continuing institutional responsiveness the principal requires skill in organization renewal, as that concept is formulated by Lippitt.

"Organization renewal is the process of initiating, creating, and confronting needed changes so as to make it possible for organizations to become or remain viable, to adapt to new conditions, to solve problems, to learn from experiences and to move toward greater organizational maturity."[52]

In carrying out the demands of this function, the principal is a renewal stimulator--"a person who initiates an action, process, or activity intended to bring about planned change contributing to organization renewal."[53]

Competencies required for leadership in organization renewal include interpersonal competence; problem solving knowledge and skills; goal setting skills; planning skills; understanding the processes of change and changing; systems diagnosis; mastery of certain knowledge about learning: nature and scope of the learning process; factors that condition learning; factors affecting resistance to learning.[54]

Two related skill areas in which competency can be improved through training include leadership style adaptation and organizational climate identification and development.

Leadership style is the predictable disposition (behavioral pattern) of an authoritative individual or group in an organization in carrying out the managerial functions of the organization.

Organizational climate refers to the perceived, fairly enduring quality of relationship among the people in an organization and between the members and the organization.

Litwin and Stringer report that "distinct organizational climates can be created by varying leadership style. Once created, these climates seem to have significant, often dramatic, effects on motivation and correspondingly on performance and job satisfaction."[55]

Various researchers have attempted to determine the relationship between organizational climate and pupil achievement. Although the results have been mixed there appears to be a significant relationship between the two. Feldvebel found, for example, that production emphasis and consideration, two elements of the most widely used organizational climate scale, are significantly related to pupil achievement at the elementary school level. Moreover, these two dimensions of organizational climate describe perceptions of the principal's behavior directly, thus seeming to show a relationship among leadership style, climate, and school effectiveness.[56]

Miller, using the same climate description scale[57] as Feldvebel, and a different achievement test battery, showed that the overall openness of the climate of the school appears to be related to pupil achievement.[58] Hale found that pupil performance on still another achievement test battery showed a significant relationship between language achievement and such climate dimensions as Kindness, Esprit, Aloofness, and Production Emphasis.[59]

Looking at the relationship between teacher morale and organizational climate at the high school level, Murphy concluded that the pattern of school administration is significantly related to the morale of teachers and that the general level of morale of teachers is affected by factors which are within the control of the school principal to change.[60]

In the National Principalship Study, Gross and Herriott identified a phenomenon which they call Executive Professional Leadership (extent to which the principal fulfills the expectations of teachers that he assist them in improving their performance). Their analysis of the extensive data revealed significant relationships between the principal's EPL and Teacher Morale, between EPL and Teacher Professional Performance, and between EPL and Pupil Performance.

Further analysis of the data led them to assert that both teacher-related variables may bear a casual relationship between the principal's EPL and pupil performance.[61]

That leadership style can be changed by training was demonstrated in a Program for Leadership in Urban Education directed by the writer during the 1974-75 school year. In a pre-post administration of Reddin's Management Style Diagnostic Test it was found that after a part-time training program of eight months, eight of eleven of the participating administrators and supervisors had changed their styles from one of the four less effective to one of the four styles classed as more effective.

Three additional areas that must be included in the training of principals, and the need for which seems evident beyond need for further documentation, are decisionmaking, planning, and communication.

Managerial behavior is guided to a great extent by the assumptions managers make about the nature of man. As Schein points out "Every manager makes assumptions about people. Whether he is aware of these assumptions or not, they operate as a theory in terms of which he decides how to deal with his superiors, peers, and subordinates. His effectiveness as a manager will depend on the degree to which his assumptions fit empirical reality."[62]

The four sets of assumptions in their historical order are rational-economic man; social man; self-actualizing man; and complex man.

The development of these sets of assumptions and the research which clarifies them and the types of managerial behavior which they underlie comprise appropriate content for a program of leadership training.

Fields of Study Related to Principalship Training

McNally cites the special need of the principal in the years ahead for competency in areas such as social psychology, urban sociology, political science, cultural anthropology, organizational theory and operation, and "The practical aspects of administrative behavior that were not even taught in the preparation programs of just a few years ago or that were taught in 'recipe' fashion."[63]

Among other areas in which competency is required for effective leadership in the urban school are the legal bases for school operation and responsibility (not only the usual body of school

law but also social welfare legislation, court decisions, and federal and state governmental regulations); public institutional governance; labor-management relations; history and other aspects of the development and status of cultural and ethnic minorities; economics and public finance; management by objectives; management of time; educational centralization and decentralization.

Whether or not there is universal acceptance of Systems Theory as an independent field, its study certainly represents an aspect of the principal's preparation that should be given special attention. One might even reasonably suggest, for example, that the Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education[64] be a required reading and study text for those preparing for the principalship, as well as those who are currently principals, and the trainers of principals.

Among other scholars in educational administration who have explicated the relevance of systems theory in school leadership are Kimbrough,[65] Knezevich,[66] and Owens.[67]

Organization of Principalship Training

There are two interrelated dimensions in the organization of a program for training school principals. One concerns the identification of broad fields of study and ways of organizing elements of them for a meaningful content. The other relates to designing the learning experiences for trainees.

A very useful way of planning and organizing the content dimension is provided by Katz in his classic discussion of the Three Skill approach to management. Skill in this context represents action which is based upon knowledge and not the knowledge in an abstract sense.

Conceptual skill, a general management point of view, involves thinking in terms of relative emphases and priorities among conflicting objective and criteria; relative tendencies and probabilities (rather than certainties); rough correlations and patterns among elements (rather than clear-cut cause-and-effect relationships). Human skill Katz subdivides into (a) leadership ability within the manager's own unit and (b) skill in intergroup relations. Technical skill implies an understanding of, and proficiency in, a specific kind of activity, particularly one involving methods, processes, procedures, or techniques. It involves "specialized knowledge, analytical ability within that specialty, and facility in the use of the tools and techniques of the specific discipline."

Katz holds that these three skills are subject to training and that administrators at all levels require some degree of competence in each of the three. In a retrospective commentary published in 1974 nearly 20 years after the original work, Katz expresses some doubt about the developability of conceptual skill in mature people, implying that those who possess the basic ability may require mostly opportunities for the intake of new information which they may then process conceptually.[68]

Abbott applies the three skill approach to the work of the principal and identifies aspects of the principal's work in each skill category, for example, decisionmaking as a conceptual skill; planning and organization as a technical skill; climate development as a human skill.[69]

In a more expansive application of the concept Griffiths and his associates develop a job description for the principal. They show how the principal's performance in each major category of his responsibility includes the three skills.[70]

Whether or not one planning a program for principal training chooses to base the content organization of the program on the three skill approach, it is clear that an alternative to the present collection of courses approach (not necessarily sequential) is needed.

Currently anyone who can "pass" each of the collection of courses can expect to be granted the principal's certificate without demonstrating any specific performance competency beyond passing written examinations in the courses.

Organization of the Learning Experiences in Principal Training

The training of principals is a class of management development as that concept is explicated by House, "any attempt to improve current or future managerial performance by imparting information, conditioning attitudes, or increasing skills."[71]

House calls attention to the limited effectiveness of attempts to change individual performance unless such attempts are directed at trainees whose work environment is supportive of the changed performance.[72]

This suggests a special condition for a program of principalship training for in-service administrators. A program should be carried out only in a school system whose chief administrators understand the program and are willing to support both the training effort and the organizational modification that may be necessary to facilitate the effectiveness of trainees in their work.

On the other hand, in-service training may be appropriate in order to help present administrators extend their competencies or add new knowledge and change attitudes to enable them to fulfill both the expectations of top management and the administrator's own potential for professional growth.

House identifies conditions necessary for inducing change through management development. To change knowledge, appropriate instructional methods include reading, lectures, films, programmed instruction. Attitudes can be changed by such methods as those required for imparting knowledge if there is also opportunity for discussion and clarification of on-the-job applications and personal benefits. To move beyond a change in attitude to a change in ability, the trainee must have opportunity to practice the target abilities whose on-the-job applications and personal benefits he understands, with corrective instruction available. Translating new abilities into changed job performance can be accomplished by on-the-job practice of the newly acquired abilities, with coaching and periodic performance review.[73]

In considering preparation for the principalship, it is assumed that such specialized training is at the graduate level. Consequently the discussion of training relates to advanced study, not to the basic undergraduate preservice preparation of teachers.

In place of the courses and credits format for the administrator training program, it is recommended that a more appropriate pattern would be along the lines presented by Clifford in describing advanced training institutes. He states that the "institute represents a concentrated, intense effort on the part of a university to change the behavior of a carefully selected group of students with respect to solutions of a specific problem or a complex series of problems associated with some aspect of the public educational enterprise. The intensity and the concentration are indicated by the continuous focusing of all the activities within the program upon specific, precisely defined objectives."

The program of the institute should be jointly planned by public school and university personnel. In the absence of such joint planning and implementation, "an institute program will, almost of necessity, degenerate into a prosaic, pedestrian kind of experience with little or no chance of effecting desirable behavioral changes within the participants."

"Behavioral changes consisting of the acquisition of new or additional knowledge, information, insights, skills, and attitudes should comprise the specific objectives of the institute. Use should be made of both didactic instruction and supervised experiences,

especially group processes, laboratory and field experiences and demonstrations. Continuous efforts should be made to integrate theory and practice . . ._ The instructional program should make use of relevant content /from appropriate disciplines/ which is organized in logical and psychological ways in order to facilitate continuity, sequence, and integration of the learning experiences."

Progress in the program should be individually paced and continuously evaluated for and with the participant without reference to the usual clock hour academic time frame. The operational goal is individualized instruction and learning.[74]

Overdependence on didactic forms and extended study of the philosophy and history of administration without a balanced, well-planned application phase would be self defeating. It would produce glib educationists who would be unable to determine that the pupils' lockers are assigned properly. (Anyone who has ever worked in a school with student lockers understands the basic importance of this lowly function. Unless it is done properly, the resultant confusion will prevent the school's orderly operation.)

Those who conduct a training program should understand that they are engaged in a training function and that this requires activities designed specifically in relation to training objectives.

Public school personnel, for example, who accept responsibility for mentorship in an internship should be helped particularly to understand their role as trainers as well as role models.

A major advantage of such a properly constructed competency related training program is the ability to eliminate those who are unable to master the required competencies while refining the skills and deepening the knowledge of those whose progress in attainment of appropriate competencies is satisfactory.

One example of such a program that appears to achieve its objectives is an ESEA Title III project conducted by the Cleveland Public Schools for administrators and supervisors in the public and non-public school systems of Cleveland. The purposes of the project are the development of a perspective of urban school leadership consistent with modern behavioral and management sciences and the development and refinement of conceptual administrative and leadership skills, including program and activity planning; goal setting; organizing and reorganizing the school; appraising staff performance, evaluating pupil achievement and program success; planning, organizing, and conducting staff training activities; initiating and facilitating the change process.

The program consists of a tri-modal approach involving thematic seminars; clinical instruction in small groups; and individual study. It is a part-time program covering a school year, with each participant expected to devote not less than three hours per week to organized project activities, in addition to outside reading.

This program is operated under the auspices of the local education agency, with consultation by university scholars in particular specialities such as Organizational Behavior. Representatives of five cooperating universities are members of a technical advisory committee which meets regularly and whose members participate in virtually every seminar session.

The Program for Leadership in Urban Schools (PLUS) discussed above is operated under the sponsorship of a school system with university cooperation. Successful leadership training programs can, of course, be conducted with university sponsorship, provided there is school system cooperation and that the affected school systems perceive benefits to their on-going activities. The key is collaboration in parity.

Neither the school system alone nor the university alone can operate an optimally successful program of school management development.

"If a principal is trained exclusively by the school system that intends to employ him, the school system will lack the depth, variety, and current knowledge required of a competent leader of professionals. If universities have the sole responsibility for his training, the program will lack the reality that can come only from training in actual operating procedures. The combination of the two should supply the schools with building principals who are knowledgeable about the alternatives they have for managing schools and who are also able to relate their knowledge to the specific school where they work."[75]

Moreover, in the training of both prospective and active principals, those planning such programs should look to the resources of universities outside the department, school, or college of education to schools or colleges of management, or to other parts of universities where the application of behavioral science findings to management is notably available in training programs.

An important issue in training programs for principals is the time needed for such training. Generally, determination of this

matter has been based on opinion unsubstantiated by defensible data. The length of time required has usually been that time which it took to complete the courses, subject to rules about credit validity in relation to the lapse of time.

The time required for such a program as proposed here would be based on the needs of individual participants, considering their prior education and experience and demonstrated capabilities, both at entry and as the training proceeds.

One school year of full-time study ought to be ample for most people attracted to the program. Perhaps two summers of full-time work with an intervening year of part-time study would suffice. It is conceivable that some persons could master the necessary skills and knowledge in less than a full school year.

Provision must, of course, be made for persons already employed as principals and assistant principals. As a matter of fact, programs for incumbent administrators ought to be set up forthwith. The recommendations offered at the beginning of this paper apply particularly to persons currently serving as administrators.

In any event, the key idea is that in such a competency related program, time spent in the program should be individually determined and should be based upon progress in attaining training objectives.

Conclusion

In the days when schools were expected mainly to equip the young with basic literacy and computational skills and with a love of country, perhaps it was sufficient to leave the running of the schools to persons whose chief qualifications lay in their outstanding teaching skill.

No longer though can the organization and management of the units in this intricate system be left mainly to persons whose training and experience equip them to think in terms of a group of children and one adult in an arena called the classroom. Though it is true that many thousands of educational personnel have preparation in school administration, the preponderance of their graduate academic training has been in instruction and other fields directly related to instruction.

The major decisions to be made in education in the years ahead will involve not just which reading program is superior, or whether algebra ought to be taught in the eighth or the ninth grade, or what schools will look like physically, or how the available

dollars will have to be stretched. The major decisions will involve matters more fundamental and will require leaders at all levels who have competencies in understanding and anticipating public policy, in developing and implementing institutional strategy, and in creating and directing the new organizational arrangements that will be necessary for the survival of tomorrow's educational institution as a socially useful agency.

Imparting this kind of knowledge and the required attitudes and skills is the function of management development. The availability of management development opportunities is a continuing need for school administrators. In this regard, there is no more crucial target group than school principals. They are at the point of greatest potential impact--the individual school. This nation is not likely soon to abandon the individual school as the key institution in the education of its children and youth. The running of these schools will continue to be the key to education's effectiveness and success. Whether they will continue to be called principals or by some other name, the heads of individual schools will succeed as they come to see their work as that of humane management--making the school work for its clients. Management development for school principals--deepening their knowledge of organizational life and modifying and sharpening their administrative and leadership skills--is now a national priority.

The people of the United States have come to view schooling as one of the vital functions of government. They have great faith in education as the key to their personal, economic, and civic success. Not only is the school expected to insure upward mobility for those who attend, it is now the focal point in debates, confrontations, and struggles as a vehicle for solving social issues such as racial isolation, poverty, ill health, and unemployability. The school is expected not only to exemplify the ideal of equal opportunity but also to fulfill the ideal of equity in benefits. While the school may continue in the nature of things to operate suboptimally in reaching these goals, the reduction of the "sub-ness" should be central in the attention and efforts of school administrators. An appropriate way to prepare them for this task is management development.

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TRAINING EDUCATIONAL LEADERS: THE PLACE OF THE EDUCATION PROFESSIONS DEVELOPMENT ACT

Dustin W. Wilson, Jr.

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Education shares in the widespread discontent with the quality of the nation's leadership. The disaffected have found the educational system to be a visible and highly vulnerable target, starting with the campus unrest of the 1960s and continuing with the problems of urban and suburban schools today. The public displays increased skepticism about the ability of educational leadership to deal constructively with these problems. Public disaffection with educational leadership is shown by public opinion polls, rejected school referenda, and the limited tenure of state and large city superintnedents.

This paper presents a short history of the programs that the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) and its Bureau of Educational Personnel Development (BEPD) designed in the 1969-73 period to train educational leaders who would then deal with problems that afflicted the schools. The paper will focus on three factors: 1) the late recognition of educational leadership as an appropriate federal interest; 2) the difficulties encountered in developing a national leadership training program; and 3) the program budgets for leadership training. These factors are presented in the context of previous training programs for educational personnel and how this past experience affected the professional staff of the bureau as it tried to establish a policy for the new program.

Federal Support for Education and Training

Except for the training of military officers, no significant federal support for education existed until the Morrill Act of 1862 provided aid to land grant colleges. The Morrill Act, its amendments, and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which established a system of cooperative agricultural extension services represented the only major federal educational effort until 1944 when Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, commonly known as the G.I. Bill.

The first pieces of legislation to deal directly with the nation's elementary and secondary schools were the National Science Foundation (NSF) Act of 1950 and the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958--America's response to Russia's "Sputnik." The NDEA offered teachers the opportunity to take graduate work in a wide variety of subjects, including vocational training, counseling, agriculture, home economics, science, math, foreign

languages, reading, English, and history. Although many of these areas were authorized by the NDEA, others were scattered throughout USOE. The major emphasis was to improve the quality of teaching to better prepare students for college. Little attention was paid to meeting the teacher shortage which existed at that period. These various training efforts reached a peak level of support of $200 million a year.

The Education Professions Development Act of 1967 was an outgrowth of the landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Although the EPDA was aimed at alleviating the shortage of teachers, then a national concern, it recognized the need for and the role of professional leadership in realizing the educational objectives of the Great Society. The new legislation was the first to provide for federal support for training educational leadership and for developing new leadership training programs. Educational leadership, which had been excluded from NSF and NDEA support, was the one new area of training specifically identified in the EPDA. The academic year 1968-69 marked the formal and fiscal acknowledgment by USOE of a national need to improve the quality and quantity of educational leadership.

Some Early Problems

Any new program is influenced, for better or worse, by the conditions, personal interests, and expertise that exist within the responsible organization. This was particularly true within the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development. First, since USOE had no program history in educational leadership, there was neither substantive material nor project momentum upon which to build. Second, the Bureau lacked a professional staff with the interest and experience needed to speak knowledgeably and persuasively on elementary and secondary educational administration. The person assigned to develop the guidelines had a doctorate in English and not much experience in public schools. Third, and most important, the new Bureau's leadership came from the teaching ranks or the academic disciplines or teacher training programs at the universities. Thus it was the teachers' view of the importance of school administrators that dominated as the BEPD leadership formulated policy and established training program and budget priorities.

Despite these handicaps, the BEPD moved ahead and developed two strategies--a crash program and one with longer range implications. First, the Bureau invited representatives from prestigious universities and professional organizations to discuss the national needs for educational leadership and to make recommendations for the new federal training effort. Although there is no written record of this meeting, the experts apparently agreed only to provide support in the first fiscal year for training efforts similar to those then offered by the universities. This is clearly evident from the first funding in 1968 when grants were

awarded to seven universities for curriculum and program development and five graduate fellowships each.

Table I

EPDA Educational Leadership
Program Development Grants
Fiscal Year 1968

Grantee	Total Award	Number of Fellowships 1968	1969	1970
University of California	187,000	5	-	-
University of Florida	260,857	5	10	10
University of Chicago	137,495	5	5	-
Harvard University	185,870	5	17	-
Columbia University	250,950	5	5	-
New York University	234.500	5	17	-
Washington State Univ.	131,232	5	5	-
Totals	$1,387,894	35	59	10

The long-range strategy was designed to provide continuing outside expertise and counsel to help the BEPD develcp program guidelines. Each Bureau program would have its own Leadership Training Institute (LTI). The Educational Leadership LTI was composed of a cross-section of people who understood the problems and issues of educational leadership from a national perspective. Sidney Marland was the first chairperson. When Marland became U.S. Commissioner of Education, he was succeeded by Norman Drachler. Both men had experience as superintendents of large urban school systems, Marland in Pittsburgh and Drachler in Detroit.

After many stormy meetings, the LTI submitted a report to the BEPD in December 1969--too late, however, to be used in developing program guidelines until the next fiscal year, 1971. The LTI recommended a continuing major role for the universities and a focus on urban issues. The recommendations stressed the importance of selection and recruitment of trainees, action-centered learning,

placement and career assistance, and evaluation. The recommendations served as the basis for the new guidelines for fiscal year 1971.

The Birth and Death of ELP

No clear program focus emerged during the first three years (1968-70) of the Educational Leadership Program (ELP), due mainly to the BEPD's lack of experience and concern for educational leadership. The first Educational Leadership Branch Chief received little help or encouragement as he tried to design the program's first guidelines. The outcome was predictable.

The first fiscal year, 1968* (academic year 1968-69), provided support for activities very similar to those already in common practice. Seven universities received grants totaling $1,387,894 for graduate training program development and for five fellowships, each leading to a doctorate in educational administration.

Fiscal 1969 (academic year 1969-70) saw a pot pourri of projects, again with no identifiable focus. The projects varied from a six-week summer institute on drug education for elementary principals to in-service and pre-service training opportunities for rural, urban, and suburban school administrators. The total program was unsystematic and uncoordinated. Twenty-three universities, city school systems, and state education agencies received $2,794,851** in grants for program and fellowship support.

A combination of circumstances made it all but impossible for the ELP to establish new program guidelines to which all prospective grantees could be expected to adhere in the third fiscal year, 1970 (academic year 1970-71). Many fiscal 1969 projects had built-in continuing elements which placed moral, if not legal, obligations on BEPD. These included:

1) The need to continue fellowship support into the second and final year of a graduate degree program.

2) The need to continue support for a summer session to complete a pre-service graduate program.

3) The need to permit a major urban school system to complete its in-service training project.

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*Even though the fiscal year budget for educational leadership in 1968 was not under EPDA authorization, this budget year was clearly intended to be the forerunner of the Bureau's leadership efforts in succeeding years. This paper uses 1968 to denote the initial support for training educational leadership personnel.

**This figure represents the total of individual project budgets over which ELP Branch personnel had direct programmatic responsibility.

Beyond these moral obligations, other demands were made upon ELP budgets which further diminished the opportunity to establish a new program design.

The new Branch Chief was appointed in July 1969, a development which further slowed the development of a new program design. The establishment of a clear national focus for the Educational Leadership Program was delayed another year by the combination of a man fresh in government on a new job, the general lack of interest or expertise in educational leadership among BEPD personnel, and the inexorable bureaucratic timetable of early fall as the critical calendar date for any new guideline decisions.

Despite these handicaps and reflecting the ELP's concern for urban schools, the National Program for Educational Leadership (NPEL) was established in fiscal 1970. The NOEL recruited Fellows from non-educational professions and placed them in important educational leadership positions. The NPEL represented a direct challenge to firmly held notions that there was one source for administrators; that the accumulation of credits should be the major factor in preparing for certification; and that any single institution could provide training for the high-quality participants in the program.

NPEL had the vigorous support of Marland, BEPD Director Don Davies, the LTI, and others in USOE. It was the first significant project of USOE and the Bureau as major shapers of leadership training. Ohio State University received an initial grant of $385,000 to design, develop, and implement what was expected to be a five-year project for 100 talented people.

Finally, in November 1970, a new program design for the ELP was published in time for the fourth fiscal year. This design was based on the following premises:

> Urban schools are in trouble. Their administrators need retraining and the universities can provide some assistance in this retraining effort.
>
> Universities need urban settings for the clinical component of their training programs. Neighboring city systems can provide clinical opportunities.
>
> An implicit moral commitment was made to support any such administrative training programs for at least three years.

The specific program guidelines were as follows:

1) Interagency Cooperation: Projects should be designed to develop and insure a substantial cooperative relationship among schools and their communities, state education agencies, and the universities in the

training of educational administrators.

2) Roles and Functions: All projects must be designed to update the knowledge, understanding, and competencies of administrators for specific new roles and functions which were evolving through new social forces and issues.

3) Program Improvement: Projects must combine in-service and pre-service training elements which focus upon organizational and institutional improvement.

4) Recruitment and Placement: Agencies seeking USOE support are expected to recruit candidates from new and varied sources, to train them for inner city settings, and to place them in key positions.

The mixed response to the new program design hinted at the problems and limitations to come. Several universities and city school systems expressed misgivings about affiliating with one another. Some universities did not like the restrictions on recruitment and selection, nor were they enthusiastic about the need for interagency cooperation. Finally, the cities were not at all confident that the universities had much in-service capacity and they generally viewed the university as an unfriendly critic.

Nevertheless, universities and school systems in 1970 submitted more than 100 proposals. Four universities and two school systems recieved grants after all proposals were carefully evaluated by independent consultants outside USOE and by the BEPD staff. The grantees (underlined) were Boston/Harvard University; Chicago/University of Chicago; Detroit/University of Michigan; Duval County (Jacksonville)/University of Florida; Los Angeles/University of California at Los Angeles; and Philadelphia/ The Pennsylvania State University. Each institution received a one-year grant with an implied three-year commitment for roughly $300,000 per year of support. These paired institutions have not historically been enthusiastic partners. In that context, this EPDA support took the form of a bribed intervention.

A third ELP venture was aimed at state education agencies, particularly the chief state school officers. An eight-day summer training institute was designed, with the encouragement of Associate Commissioner Davies and at the urging of the Council of Chief State School Officers. The institute was received with enthusiasm and increasing attendance--from an initial 28 in 1971 to 47 in 1974. The Council has made the institute a major function of its annual program.

The ELP also provided grants to the North Carolina and Kansas state education agencies to improve the state and local

capacity for planning and management through training. North Carolina has made training programs for administrators a line item in the state budget.

Thus, in fiscal 1971, the ELP developed an identifiable philosophy and a clear program focus in time for the fourth year of federal support for training projects designed to meet the nation's educational leadership needs.

The next two years, 1972-73, marked the decline and demise of BEPD and its programs, including Educational Leadership. The ELP's development efforts were ended by the strategy of the Nixon Administration and the Health, Education, and Welfare Department to dismember-by-decentralization USOE's Great Society programs. The strategy was aided by a distastrous attempt by top USOE leadership to create a new program thrust called educational renewal without first obtaining Congressional approval. One of the casualties of this combination of forces was the Educational Leadership Program.

Ironically, the year in which USOE first stated formally a leadership training policy also marked the beginning of the end of federal involvement in the training of educational administrators. In the final years, the NPEL, the six city/university projects, and the state education agency projects were continued, but with the clear understanding that the projects and the ELP would end in fiscal 1973.

What the ELP Budget Says

Any organization's priorities can be read from its budget and the way it distributes funds to its functional units. This holds true despite the limitations which the purposes and structure of the organization place upon resource management. Such constraints can be seen in school system budgets, where salaries comprise 85 percent of the total resources expended. However, management priorities can still be assessed from the trends of the budget categories. Evidence of institutional priorities can be derived by comparing budget trends for future-oriented issues such as research, planning, or staff development with current problem-solving activities such as attendance, vandalism, or interscholastic sports.

This paper applies this method of identifying priorities to the Educational Leadership Program and to the relative position of the ELP to the total program budgets for the BEPD. The ELP's six-year budget history will be displayed in two ways: 1) with fiscal data drawn only from its own program budget (Table II); and 2) by comparing the annual ELP budgets to other selected Bureau programs and to the total Bureau budgets (Table III).

At least two policy and management elements should be observable from a program budget history: 1) a reasonably clear sense of the program's general goals and objectives; and 2) the strategies and tactics used to achieve those goals. Conclusions about both of these elements can be drawn from Table II, particularly when the first three years are compared to the last three.

Table II

Educational Leadership Program Budgets
1968-1973

	NPEL	C/U	SEA	Miscellaneous	Total	No. of Grants
1968	-	-	-	1,387,894	1,387,894	7
1969	-	-	-	2,794,851	2,794,851	23
1970	384,116	-	-	1,731,924	2,116,040	18
1971	1,039,999	1,827,335	445,706	93,048	2,116,040	11*
1972	1,214,045	1,704,373	523,982	755,195	4,197,595	11*
1973	1,670,336	1,769,921	405,981	160,000	4,006,238	7*
	4,308,496**	5,301,629	1,375,669	6,922,912	17,908,706	

*These figures were determined by aggregating the seven NPEL sites and the six C/U sites and counting each group as a unit.

**In fiscal year 1974, an additional $450,000 was granted to complete the program for the Fellows in the program and other development tasks, the final total being $4,758,490 over the five years.

From 1968 to 1970 there were no substantive program categories to which projects could be assigned which would reflect a program philosophy. This is shown by the almost 95 percent under the "Miscellaneous" heading in Table II. Nor is any strategy evident as fewer project dollars were divided up among more projects.

Both of these observations contrast sharply to the leadership project budgets for fiscal years 1971-73, when the philosophy of the new program design clearly directed well over 90 percent

of the project budget to urban administrative issues. Further, the strategy of concentrating scarce funds on a limited number of sites over a longer period of time differs markedly from the haphazard approach of the earlier years.

Table III provides a perspective on the overall BEPD priority for training educational leaders compared to that for preparing classroom teachers and other educational specialists. The Teacher Corps and the Career Opportunities Program were selected for comparison for two reasons: 1) they were the Bureau's largest and most visible programs; and 2) they illustrate the Bureau's capacity to continue a large program (Teacher Corps) and to initiate a major new effort (Career Opportunities Program).*

Table III

Selected EPDA Program Budgets

(In thousands of dollars)

1968-73

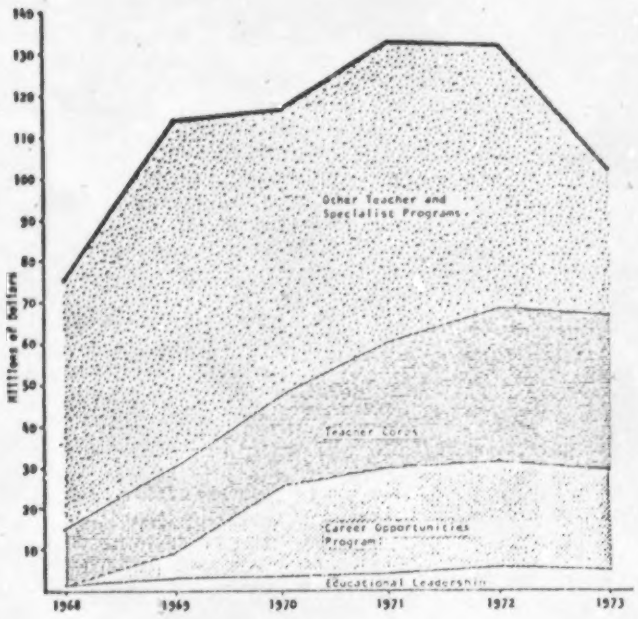
Fiscal Year	Educational Leadership	Teacher Corps	Career Opportunities Program	Teacher Specialist Programs*	Bureau Totals
1968	1,388	13,500	-	59,862	74,750
1969	2,625	20,814	6,714	83,540	113,693
1970	2,739	21,634	22,117	69,732	116,222
1971	3,892	30,782	25,987	73,057	133,718
1972	5,084	37,398	26,163	64,838	133,483
1973	4,139	37,500	24,955	35,649	102,243
	19,867	161,628	105,936	386,678	674,109

*This column shows the balance of the other BEPD programs.

* The figures in the two tables are different because Table II comes from a compilation of specific program budgets over which the ELP professional staff had jurisdiction. Table III data were obtained from a computer printout using the federal budget accounting number assigned to the Educational Leadership Program. In every case from 1969-73, the data in Table II are less than those in Table III.

Table III shows that educational leadership training was a low priority compared to programs to recruit and prepare classroom teachers. In four of the six years, less than three percent of the BEPD's program budget was devoted to leadership training. Only in the Bureau's and the ELP's final year (1973) did support for leadership training reach four percent. The average leadership training support for the whole six-year period was less than three percent of the total BEPD budget.

The graph shows another way of highlighting the priority assigned to national leadership training needs:



Bureau of Educational Personnel Development
Program Budget Distribution
1968-1973

The shaded areas represent the data in Table III and illustrate even more vividly the proportional share of the program budget pie allocated to educational leadership.

In summary, the budget data show the development of a program philosophy and management strategy for the improvement of programs to train educational leadership despite the low priority assigned to this task by the BEPD.

Outcomes and Lessons

Despite hesitant beginnings and meager support, the ELP made a substantial contribution, particularly in the areas of development identified by the program design. From 1971 to 1973, significant and enduring improvement was made in goals and objectives, in personnel selection, in program development, and in interagency cooperation. Particularly noteworthy are the drastically modified recruitment and selection procedures of universities and the placement and employment practices of school systems. During the three years 70 percent of the 750 participants were from minority groups and 42 percent were women. This contrasts sharply with earlier practice.

The broadened pool from which people were recruited, trained, and placed represents a second area of achievement. It is no longer newsworthy when a school system seeks talent from other professions. Educational leaders now are commonly recruited for responsible positions from law, business, and other occupations. This was unheard of only a few years ago.

The ELP experience has improved university training programs. Interdisciplinary study has become standard. Many programs offer joint degrees between schools of education and those of law, business, management, technology, and others. On the practical level, internships and clinical experiences in urban settings are fully recognized as essential ingredients of an effective program. And, given the history of mutual distrust between universities and city school systems, the current degree of collaboration between them is noteworthy. The problems of decentralization, bilingual principalships, fiscal management, community involvement, desegregation, and regional in-service needs all were the subject of special training activities that were designed, developed, and implemented as a result of the increased level of trust and respect between the universities and city schools.

The progress stimulated by the ELP underscores the need for continued and increased efforts. The problems of recruiting and selecting NPEL fellows offers a prime example of this need. Recruitment was the focus of intense concern in NPEL because the investment in each Fellow was to be high. Some mistakes of omission and commission occurred despite exhaustive effort and hours of consultation, discussion, and interviews with each Fellow. Errors of selection are not unique to this program, as

shown by the tenure of superintendents and other administrators. And recent events in national politics and business show the pervasiveness of this occurrence.

Improvements in the curriculum for administrative training require learning settings and teaching techniques other than classrooms and lectures--expecially for programs which stress management, collective bargaining, and the political process. Although many universities have tried to inject some form of practical learning into their programs, the effort often has been haphazard and with little foundation in theory. This condition is compounded by the university style of operation which prefers thinking about action rather than action itself.

The current lack of turnover among school administrators has created a new demand for effective in-service programs for school administrators. This demand intensifies the problems of university training. Departments of educational administration are fearful and ill-prepared to deal with the in-service needs of practicing administrators, particularly those from urban settings. Nor will the staffs in these departments take the personal and professional risks needed to develop effective in-service programs. Nothing in the current reward system in higher education encourages such an effort. Federal support programs are needed to aid state and local agencies and the universities in developing sound clinical internships and effective in-service training programs.

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